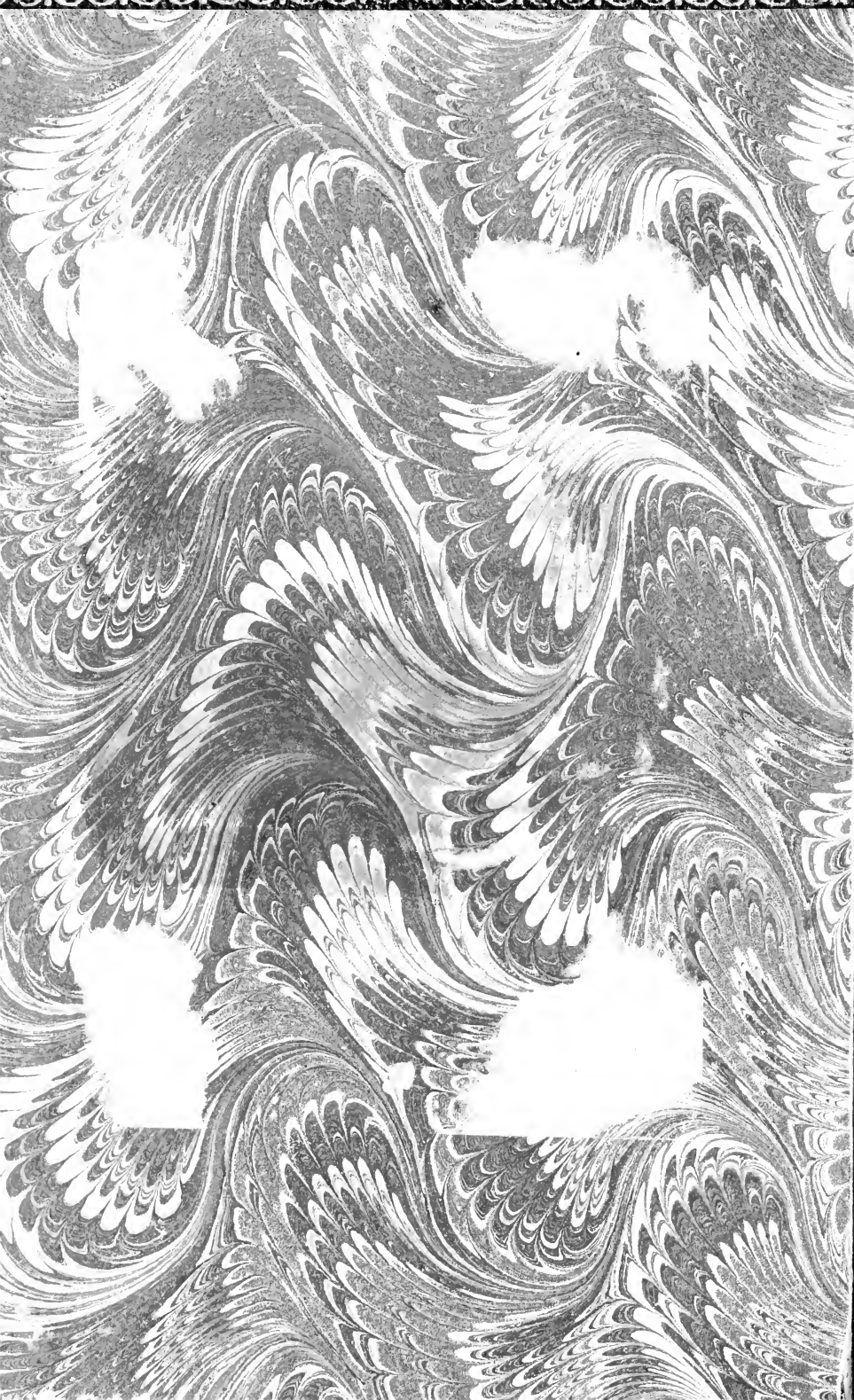


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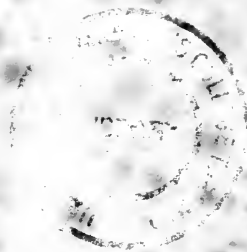
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A.L.S. from the author
inserted



Near Woburn Bed.
June 15th 1840

Dear friend
Samuel Cooper

I duly received the P. B. Order
of 10/ for which I am obliged, and have sent
the volume of Green & Walter's. I hope
it will be read by friends; in it they
will discover essentially their own prin-
ciples, written 100 years before Geo. Fox.

I forbore to point out this in the "Liber"
on to give extracts to show it, because I
wished not to make it the book of a sect,
but to be generally read. I am gratified
however when I find Friends read it

I remain thy friend

Benjamin B. Weyland

LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
JUÁN DE VALDÉS.



LONDON

PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO.

NEW-STREET SQUARE



(Only 100 copies printed for publication.)

A newly discovered work by John Valdesso.

ALFABETO CRISTIANO, BY JUAN DE VALDÉS,
WHICH TEACHES THE TRUE WAY TO ACQUIRE THE LIGHT OF
THE HOLY SPIRIT. From the Italian of 1546; with a
Notice of Juan de Valdés, and Giulia Gonzaga.

BY BENJAMIN B. WIFFEN.

REFORMISTAS ANTIGUOS

ESPAÑÓLES.

TOMO.



OBRAS YA REIMPRESAS.

1	FERNANDO DE TEXEDA. Carrascón	1633
2	JUÁN PEREZ. Epistola Consolatoria. Reimpres por Benjamin B. Wiffen.....	1550
3	JUÁN PEREZ? Imagen del Antecristo; i Carta a Felipe II	1558?
4	JUÁN I ALFONSO DE VALDÉS. Dos Diálogos ...	1528-1530
5	R. G. DE MONTES. Artes de la Inquisición ...	1567
6	ZIPRIANO D. VALERA. Dos Tratados: del Papa i de la Misa	1599
7	JUÁN PEREZ. Breve Tradato de Doctrina	1560
8	ZIPRIANO D. VALERA. Tratado a los Cautivos de Berberia	1594
	Aviso a los de la Iglesia Romana	1600
	SACHARLES. Español Reformado	1621
9	JUÁN DE VALDÉS. Ziento i diez Consideraciones	1550
10-11	JUÁN DE VALDÉS. Dos Epistolas de San Pablo.	1556-1557
12	FRANZISCO DE ENZINAS. Dos Informaciones: i una Suplicación por JUÁN PEREZ	1559
13	R. G. MONTANUS. Inquisitionis Hispanicæ Artes	1567
14	ZIPRIANO D. VALERA. Institución Religiosa; por Calvino	1597
15	JUÁN DE VALDÉS. Alfabeto Christiano. Italiano, Español e Inglés	1546
	Reimpreso por Benjamin B. Wiffen, a mi costa.	
16	JUÁN DE VALDÉS. Ziento i diez Consideraciones del Manuscrito de Hamburgo	1558
17	JUÁN DE VALDÉS. Ziento i diez Consideraciones. Reimpresión mejorada del N° 9.....	1550
18	JUÁN PEREZ. Breve Sumario de Indulgencias	1560?
19	DR. CONSTANTINO. Suma de Doctrina. Sermón en el Monte. Catezismo Cristiano. Confesión del Peadór	1551-1556
20	JUÁN DÍAZ. Historia de la Muerte de	1546

También se ha reimpreso la obra filológica de
 JUÁN DE VALDÉS Diálogo de la Lengua Española 1533?
 LUIS DE USOZ I RIO. Isaias traducido del Hebreo 1863





SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO P.

PEARSON SC.

GIULIA GONZAGA.

ÆT. 35.—MDXXXIV.

LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
JUÁN DE VALDÉS,

otherwise Valdesso,

SPANISH REFORMER IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY,

BY

BENJAMIN B. WIFFEN.

WITH

A Translation from the Italian

OF HIS

Hundred and Ten Considerations,

BY

JOHN T. BETTS.

VALDESIO HISPANUS SCRIPTORE SUPERBIAT ORBIS.

Daniel Rogers.

NON MORITURA.—*Giulia Gonzaga's Motto*, p. 112.



LONDON:
BERNARD QUARITCH, 15 PICCADILLY.
1865.

'These Meditations were designed to excite in the soul the love and fear of God; and they ought to be read, not in the hurry of business, but in retirement; in fragments, yet successively; the reader laying them at once aside when he is weary.'

ANSELM.

PREFACE.

THE BOOK entitled THE HUNDRED AND TEN CONSIDERATIONS OF SIGNIOR JOHN VALDESSO, printed at Oxford in 1638, 4to., has become scarce. It is shut up in libraries, and should a stray copy come abroad, it is rarely to be obtained by him who seeks for it. This is not so much because the work is sought for by many, and largely known; for the principles it teaches are almost as much in advance of the present times as they were in the days of the 'sainted George Herbert' and Nicholas Ferrar, who first published it in English. In their day it was perhaps read as much for their sakes as for the Author's. It was thought that a book sanctioned by their approval must be good; and down to the present time there has not been a reader of their interesting biography who has not been arrested by the name of JOHN VALDESSO, whom they did so much love. Of him, however, George Herbert and Nicholas Ferrar knew nothing more with any certainty than what was put on the title-page of the 'Considerations.' In the pages of their own biography he appears as a mythic personage, surrounded by a nimbus of mingled light and obscurity. The fertile fancy, however, of Isaac Walton was brought into exercise in his Life of George Herbert, to sketch the mysterious

person who, it was dimly apprehended, had exercised a surprising influence in Italy about the period of the Reformation. It pourtrayed John Valdesso, a Spaniard, as a grave, pensive old mystic, who so wrought upon the superstitious bias of Charles V. that he resolved to withdraw with his adviser from the world of public life. Of this, Isaac Walton supplies the following imaginative account :—

‘ This JOHN VALDESSO was for his learning and virtue much valued and loved by the great Emperor Charles V., whom Valdesso had followed as a Cavalier all the time of his long and dangerous wars; and when Valdesso grew old and weary of the world, he took a fair opportunity to declare to the Emperor that his resolution was to decline his Majesty’s service and betake himself to a quiet and contemplative life, because there ought to be a time between fighting and dying. The Emperor had himself, for the same or other reasons, taken the like resolution; but God and himself only knew them, and he desires Valdesso to consider well of what he had said, but keep his purpose within his own breast, till they two had another opportunity of a friendly discourse, which Valdesso promised. In the meantime the Emperor appoints privately a day for him and Valdesso to receive the sacrament publicly, and appointed an eloquent friar to preach a sermon on contempt of the world, and of the happiness and benefit of a quiet and contemplative life, which the friar did most affectionately. After which sermon the Emperor declared openly: That the preacher had begot in him a resolution to lay down his dignities, to forsake the world, and to betake himself to a more monastic life. And he pretended he had persuaded John Valdesso to do the like; but this is most certain, that after the Emperor had called his son Philip out of England, and resigned to him all his kingdoms, that then the Emperor and John Valdesso did per-

form their resolution. This account,' he goes on to say, 'I received from a friend that had it from the mouth of Mr. Ferrar; and the reader may note that in this retirement John Valdeso writ his CX. Considerations and many other treatises of worth, which want a second Mr. Ferrar to procure and translate them.'

The whole of this story is a pure fiction, which it is the ungracious duty of Truth to negative, though the lively imagination of Isaac Walton has adorned it with his own graceful colouring of romance. If it be now my part, by unsought necessity, to destroy his pleasant episode about *Juán de Valdés*—this 'John Valdeso,' as he calls him—and the Emperor, it is agreeable to me to be able to supply its place by another episode in his life more true and graceful,—more graceful because more true,—that of his acquaintance with *Giulia Gonzaga*, Duchess of *Trajetto* and Countess of *Fondi*; for whom he prepared his MSS., and who took her part in the conception and production of at least one of them.*

And if so little was truly known of this John Valdeso by his English translator, the Spaniards, his countrymen, who had seen him with their bodily eyes a century earlier, were scarcely wiser, for they viewed in him not one but two persons; and if some few of them escaped this illusion, and could have told us something about him with accuracy, the fires of the Inquisition dried up the ink of their pens with terror. As in Spain, so in Italy, where he lived and died at last, it was the same. Authors, who one after another record his name, all moved to curiosity about it, yet possessing little except this one book, can tell us scarcely more than his countrymen have done. His name, cast out by the bigots of his own nation, banned in Italy, and rejected amongst the dogmatic Switzers, found at length, a hundred years later, a quiet asylum in England,

* *The Alfabeto Christiano.*

the Ark of freedom. It appears incumbent, therefore, upon us to unveil the 'true effigies' of him whom George Herbert and Nicholas Ferrar yearned to know, and whom a number of more recent writers have been anxious to pourtray, yet could not.

Having now obtained a larger number of his books than it had been the good fortune of others previously to possess, I have been enabled, by comparing the style and thoughts of one with another, to determine the authorship of those which were at first anonymous, and also to ascertain from his own words many of the circumstances of his life that had been but dimly apprehended before. In order to lighten the labour of others who may be inclined to carry on their researches in this direction to a greater length than myself, I have been careful to mark the successive stages of progress by references placed at the foot of the page. And as a limited number of copies of the Author's works have recently been reprinted, and those not intended for public sale, in a series entitled *Reformistas antiguos Españoles*, if these sources of information are not readily to be obtained, they are now to be found at least in several of our public libraries by those who may be inclined to study them. For the advantage of the general reader, I have thought it well to extend the extracts from them to a length that, but for this reason, might seem disproportionate to the shortness of the narrative, and these I hope will not be found in themselves tedious or uninteresting.

For the particular view given in the Introductory chapter of Spanish national affairs during the early part of the sixteenth century, and of the policy of what we call the 'Country party,' or 'Commons,' comparing it to that distinguished by the same term in the contest for freedom in our own country in the times of Charles the First and

Cromwell, I am indebted to gleanings from the Epistles of Pedro Martir de Angleria, in the Spanish Appendix to the *Ziento i diez Consideraciones por Juán de Valdés. Londres, 1863.* This Appendix, containing also the correspondence of Erasmus with the brothers Valdés, translated into Spanish, and other very valuable information respecting them, occupies 255 pages, with an Index to it.

Many notices about Valdés, the erroneous as well as the true, scattered over the pages of various writers, Dr. Edward Boehmer of Halle has, with his truly German characteristic of industrious research, collected in the notes to an elaborate Appendix to his reprinted edition of 1550 of '*Le Cento e dieci divine Considerazioni di Giovanni Valdesso. Halle in Sassonia, 1860.*' The Appendix is entitled '*Cenni Biografici sui Fratelli Giovanni e Alfonso di Valdesso, 1861,*'—127 pages. Of this volume 306 copies were printed—only 200 of them for sale. It is to be regretted that Dr. Boehmer did not supply an Index to his valuable Appendix. This would have rendered its instructive materials, in the notes especially, much more accessible to the enquiring student. Dr. Boehmer is also author of the article 'Valdés,' in *Herzog's Real-Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche. Gotha, 1863–1865.*

The *Dialogo de la Lengua (tenido azía el A. 1533), i publicado por primera vez el año de 1737. Ahora reimpresso conforme al MS. de la Biblioteca Nazional, único que el Editor conoze. Por Apendize va una Carta de A. Valdés. Madrid: Año de 1860,* with its interesting Preface and Appendix, has furnished various particulars about the manner of Juán de Valdés' Sunday readings with his friends at Naples; and the letters of Alfonso Valdés and Castiglione are given in the Appendix, derived from Serassi's *Lettere di B. Castiglione*, t. ii. pp. 169–202. 4to.

The notice of Giulia Gonzaga and the circumstances of

her relation with Juan de Valdés are taken from the sketch prefixed to the English translation of the *Alfabeto Christiano con l'aggiunta di due traduzioni, l'una in Castigliano, l'altra in Inglese. Londra, l'anno 1860 (non pubblicato)*: a hundred and fifty copies were printed. Only one hundred copies, of the English part alone, were printed for publication.

The Report of the Trial and Martyrdom of Pietro Carnesecchi, by Richard Gibbings, B.D. Dublin, 1856; a pamphlet of xxiii. and 63 pp. full of information, has furnished the particulars about Carnesecchi and the preservation of the MS. writings of Valdés by him and Giulia Gonzaga.

When the volume was far advanced, there came into my hands, from Dr. Edward Boehmer of Halle, a Latin tract entitled *Lac Spirituale. Institutio Puerorum Christianorum Vergeriana, edit. F. Koldewey. Brunsvigae, sumptibus Alfredi Bruhn, 1864, pp. 1-17 and 19-32. 12mo.* At the end of p. 17 is *Ex Italico Versus est etiam Germanice et Polonice.* It is a reprint of Vergerio's Latin version of the Italian tract by Valdés, which stands in the List of his works at page 166, number 6. *Qual maniera, etc. Not discovered.* 'What method should be used to train up Children of Christian parents in the Christian religion?' This Latin tract teaches the acknowledged principles of the 'CX. Considerations' and the 'Alfabeto Christiano,' and uses, even in the Latin, the form and manner of his peculiar expressions; and there can remain no doubt that it was essentially written by the same author. I regret that I became acquainted with it in the Latin too late to make use of it in the following 'Life.' At the note at page 166 to the List of his writings, I have given rather an adverse opinion as to its being the genuine work of Valdés, which better acquaintance enables

me here to correct. I then knew it only by the German version, which is a translation of a translation—a translation indeed *thrice* repeated, passing successively from the Spanish MS. under what Dr. Boehmer calls the triple mantle of Italian, Latin, and German, and which in that form appeared too *theologically dressed* to be altogether genuine.

At page 86 of the 'Life' following, Francisco Dilfo is called an Andalusian; he was a Fleming or German by birth, an Andalusian in temperament.

Recently, and while the latest sheets of this volume were passing through the press, died DON LUIS DE USÓZ I RIO, Editor of the REFORMISTAS ANTIGUOS ESPAÑOLES, to the pages of which I have been so much indebted. He was, like Valdés, by birth, *uno Caballero*, a gentleman; and like him, a person of sound and exact learning, of great simplicity and modesty,—of genuine truthfulness both in his life and in his writings. He loved his country, lamented its historical decline, and disinterestedly sought its highest welfare. With the exception of two of them, the twenty volumes of the REFORMISTAS, besides others not included in the series, were edited by his own labour during five and twenty years; and with the exception of a single small volume, they were printed entirely at his sole cost and charges, without connection with any Society or Association, religious or literary; and one private friend alone aided him to procure the recondite materials. Although he could not see the completion of this present work, it is satisfactory to know that he read the whole of the first part, that is the LIFE &c., as the sheets were printed off, and that, with the best knowledge of any man on the subject, he on several occasions expressed his estimate of it, in terms it might seem presuming upon the judgment of others, for me at least, to produce here.

In drawing up this Life of JUÁN DE VALDÉS, my view has been to reduce the events now authenticated to chronological order, dismissing the errors of previous conjectures;—to prove the personal distinction between him and his brother Alfonso, the Latin Secretary of Charles V., and yet their unity by twinship, training and education, affection, and similarity of genius;—to show by quotation the consistency there is in his writings, from the apparently political, yet really reformatory ones of his earlier years, to the more exclusively religious sentiments of his later life. It has also been my wish to represent that breadth and depth of his Christian profession, exalted to the simplicity of the Gospels, grounded and settled in *the faith of the heart*, which Valdés endeavoured to practise himself and to teach to others; and which gave to his teaching such rare acceptance and efficacy.

It remains for me only now to add, that these CONSIDERATIONS were the fruits of the ripest thoughts of the Author's mind; and though the volume may not gain the approval of all readers,—for some will not accept its propositions; others will think it tedious; others, mystical; others, ascetic,—yet there will doubtless be some who, like his early friends of ancient days, will be found to relish its pages, and to love the Author with an entire and grateful affection.

BENJAMIN B. WIFFEN.

NEAR WOBURN:
10th month 1865.



IN a letter to the Editor of the *Lac Spirituale*, Dr. Ed. Boehmer of Halle has pointed out the coincidence of its sentiments and peculiar expressions with the ‘CX. Considerations,’ the ‘Alfabeto Christiano,’ and ‘Commentary on Romans and Corinthians:’ the following are some examples :

In the first place and before all other things, let Christian parents give their children to understand that God, through human generation (from Adam) is the parent of all mankind, and that He is propitiated and reconciled to us by our re-generation through Christ. See Considerations LXXI. and LXXXV.

Let them know that God is the Eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that the Son of God, who at the appointed time took upon Himself the nature of man in order to redeem mankind, is co-eternal with the Father; and that the Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is also co-eternal with them.

That this God is invisible, universal, and immortal, in whom dwell omnipotence, wisdom, goodness, mercy, truth, and faithfulness—who is indeed *Himself* wisdom, goodness, mercy, etc. Consideration XLIX.

Let them understand that after the creation of all other things, God made man, higher and more excellent than every creature on the face of the earth; even in the *image and likeness* of God, seeing that man was made immortal, wise, just, true, and faithful, and that he was placed, adorned with so many and such great gifts, in a terrestrial Paradise.

That man by his disobedience lost the *image and likeness* of God in which he had been created, and being driven from Paradise, became like the beasts, passible and mortal; his spirit, impure, unrighteous, sinful, and wicked. For this reason he was driven out of Paradise. Considerations I. and LXXII.

The wickedness of mankind having become great on the earth, God sent a flood which destroyed both man and beast; Noah alone, with his wife, his sons, and his sons’ wives, with a certain number of all kinds of beasts, were saved. Not because the ark might preserve them were they saved, but because Noah, believing God would fulfil His promises, and having faith in His word, entered with his family into the ark. Hence Noah was not saved by the ark but by his faith, sustained by which he risked himself, his household, and the animals in the ark. Consideration CIV.

Now, true Christian faith which is divinely inspired and revealed produces these four effects in believers: it incites them to love God and those things which are of God; and to love Christ and all things that are of Christ. In addition to these effects it brings peace to the conscience when it knows that it is reconciled with God. Besides, it teaches us to deserve well of all men, but especially of them who are of the household of faith. Lastly, it mortifies and slays the desire of sin in believers. Therefore the love of God and of Christ, peace of conscience, Christian charity, and mortification of the flesh, are the sweet fruits of Christian faith divinely inspired. Just as it is the property of the sun to give light and heat, and that ought not to be called the sun which does not give light and heat—so faith ought not to be considered as, or called, Christian faith which does not incite the mind to the love of God and of Christ—which does not give peace of conscience, which does not mortify the desire of sin. Considerations XXIX. LXVII. LXX. LXXXV. XCIX. Commentary 1 Corinthians i.



LIFE OF JUAN DE VALDÉS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

IN the second quarter of the 16th century, a person appeared in Italy, whose residence there, for only a few years, left an impression on the age and on his adopted country. The influence extended to other lands, and in our own, an almost unconscious reflection of it may even yet be traced. His mind was a prime mover of other minds; he stirred them from the surface to their inmost depths. It was like a stone cast into the current of their thoughts, that lay deep in the secrecy of the bottom, whilst the circles on the top undulated fainter and fainter indeed away from the moving impulse, but expanded larger and larger to the shore.

“So the small pebble stirs the peaceful lake :
The centre moved, a circle straight succeeds,
Another still, and still another spreads.”

He came a stranger to his adopted country, and died in peace, almost without observation. Men scarcely knew his native place or his proper name. He may be said to have been born double, for he was one of TWINS. At first he was confounded with his brother; in later life the public features of both were drawn almost exclusively from *his* original. He was noble and rich, yet he laid wealth and honours aside—not, however, as despising them, for he lived cheerfully with others, and principally amongst persons of rank and letters; he was in pursuit of riches beyond rank, and a wisdom above that of the schools, always preferring the good of the future to the advantages of the present. He was deeply versed in the doctrines of the Bible, but not a theologian, in an age when theology was considered to be less the experimental knowledge, than the *science* of religion; he was poor in spirit, but not a monk. He was not an ascetic, for he sought the brotherhood of human life; and although himself but one-half of a birth, he had a heart as large in its sympathies as humanity itself. He was loved much, and was hated much;

yet he loved all again, and from the depths of his bosom he abhorred persecution. To attempt to serve the cause of Christ by persecution or compulsion was indeed to persecute *him*. He formed no sect, yet was he followed by so influential and increasing a class, that Rome, to root them out, thought it worth while to enlarge the searching code of her Inquisition.

He wrote much, for others rather than for himself, and himself printed little or nothing; his few books were all written in his own Spanish tongue, yet became most read and known in the languages of the foreigner. The translators, French, Dutch, German, and English, knew little with certainty of him who had composed the books they admired, and to which they gave their labour. Compilers of large Biographical Dictionaries actually knew scarcely any of his writings, yet they kept his name in their pages, mixing the few acknowledged facts known about him with much that was fabulous.

It remains for us who have recovered more of our author's works than it was the good fortune of our predecessors to know, to attempt to exhibit in the best manner we may, yet, after all, incompletely, a truer "effigy" of this remarkable man than the critical care of Bayle could construct, the judgment of Hallam could measure, or the translator Nicholas Ferrar could discover in the JOHN VALDESSO whom his friend, the sainted George Herbert, did "so much love."¹

According to the inconvenient practice of rendering proper names of persons and places into the form of the language in which the translations were made, rather than retaining them in their native orthography, the name of Juan de Valdés has been variously written. Thus the variations Johannes Valdesius, in Latin; Giovanni Valdesso, in Italian; Jan de Val d'Esso, in French; and John Valdesso, in English, were originally derived from the Spanish JUAN DE VALDÉS.

The house of Valdés was one of the most ancient and distinguished of the kingdom of Leon.² One noted member

¹ See George Herbert's letter to Nicholas Ferrar.

² Juan Pablo Martir Rizo, "Historia de la Ciudad de Cuenca." Madrid, 1629, fol. p. 284: "La Casa de Valdés es de la mas antigua y principales del Reyno de Leon;" and after having named some distinguished members of the family, amongst whom was the Grand Inquisitor, Fernando de Valdés, Archbishop of Seville, he continues: "Un Cavallero deste

apellido y familia llamado Hernando de Valdés vino a poblar a la ciudad de Cuenca mas ha de trezientos y cinquenta años, donde dexó casas suntuosas, Capilla y mayorazgo: tuvo muchos hijos, y de ellos muy noble descendencia, que por su notoria nobleza ascendió uno a ser Camarero del Pontifice, y otro fué Secretario del Emperador: y los demas descendientes desta Casa han sido Regidores y Procuradores de Cortes por la ciudad, y

of the family was the Grand Inquisitor, Fernando de Valdés, Archbishop of Seville, who in 1561 made a revisal of the whole code of the Spanish Inquisition, which continues, with the exception of a few slight alterations, to be the law to this day.¹ The ancestor of the family, Hernando de Valdés, began to found the city of Cuenca, in New Castille, about the close of the 12th century: he left magnificent houses, a chapel, and an entailed estate. He had a noble posterity. Under these proprietors, the people enjoyed the blessings of a genealogy of virtues; liberty and the rule of justice were followed by improvement and wealth; and this condition continued until the blight of a tyrannous superstition fell upon them, reversing that prosperous condition into that which is there shown at the present day. The family was represented in the latter half of the 15th century by another Hernando Valdés, who thus became by inheritance perpetual *Regidor* of Cuenca.²

estado de la nobleza de Cuenca, con otras grandes dignidades, que ocuparon otros en Iglesias destes Reynos, y en servicio de sus Reyes."

"The house of Valdés is one of the most ancient and distinguished of the kingdom of Leon, &c. A gentleman of this name and family, called Hernando de Valdés, came, somewhat more than three hundred and fifty years ago, to found the city of Cuenca, where he left magnificent houses, a chapel, and entailed estates; he had many children, and from them many noble descendants. So great was their reputation for nobility, that one of them attained the appointment of Chamberlain to the Pope, and the other [doubtless Alfonso de Valdés] secretary to the Emperor; besides, other descendants of this family have been Regidores and Procuradores de Cortes for the city, and nobles of Cuenca, whilst they have filled other dignities in the churches of these kingdoms, and in the service of their kings."

The notice which Martir Rizo gives of the Valdés, slight and indistinct as it seems, is important because he was grandson of Pedro Martir de Angleria; and if his papers could be discovered, they would most likely furnish many more particulars about them than he dared to publish in his "History of Cuenca;" for had he done so, he would have been persecuted alike by the Inquisition and by the relations of the Valdés themselves, whom they would esteem as no Catholics.

¹ "Copilacion de las Instrucciones del Oficio de la santa Inquisicion, hechas en Toledo, año de mil y quinientos y

sesenta y uno."—McCrie, "History of Reformation in Spain," 1829, p. 91.

² Cuenca is the capital of a mountainous district, being about 3,400 feet above the level of the sea. It is one of the most picturesque cities of Spain, romantically situated at the confluence of the Jucar and Huecar, on a peak between the heights *San Cristobal* and *El Socorro*, nearly halfway between Madrid and Valencia. In the 15th and 16th centuries [the period of which we have to speak] this district was densely peopled with traders, busy in its staple manufacture of woollens, whilst the city was celebrated alike for arts and literature, and for splendid silver-work. Now the country is so poverty-stricken that scarcely 300 souls to the square league are to be numbered, and the capital barely contains 6,000 inhabitants. Its picturesque position, however, remains; the beautiful Huecar and Jucar (sucro, the sweet waters, aguas dulces) still flow down, through defiles spanned with bridges, and planted with charming walks, where the waters irrigate gardens filled with fine vegetables and fruit-trees, and feed the creepers which mantle luxuriously around the overhanging rocks; above topples the pyramidal eagles' nest town, with its old walls and towers, and houses hanging over the precipices and barren rocks, enhancing the charms of the fertile valleys. From the suburb, the town rises in terraces, as it were, tier above tier, roof above roof, up to the square and cathedral, which occupy almost the only level space; for the streets are steep and tortuous, and the little *Alameda* looks like a shelf squeezed

Thus he was not a *Cor-regidor*, as he has been generally called, but he was a *Mayorazgo*, *Regidor*, or hereditary proprietor; and if not a personage of the highest degree, he was an *Hidalgo* of liberal fortune and independent circumstances. There is good reason to believe that he took sides with the *Comunidades*, or popular party, when they rose to assert the liberties of the people, but lost them with Padilla on the fatal field of Villalar;¹ and that the following *Copla* was his composition in reference to the independent position he then held and continued to maintain through life:—

“Diez marcos tengo de Oro
 “i de plata, zient’ i ochenta,
 “buenas casas en que moro,
 “i un largo cuento de renta :
 “diez escuderos de cuenta :
 “de linaje, bien contento :
 “de Señor, no acostamiento ;
 “que es lo que mas me contenta.”²

Ten marks of gold for the telling,
 And of silver I have nine score ;
 Good houses are mine to dwell in,
 And I have a rent-roll more.
 My line and lineage please me—
 Ten squires I count at my call—
 And no lord who flatters or fees me,
 Which pleases me more than they all.

Hernando de Valdés had several sons, and two of them, born about the end of the century, rose to great distinction. One, Alfonso de Valdés,³ was Latin secretary to the Emperor Charles V., in the Chancery under Mercurino Gatinara;

in at the angle of the town, from whence is a striking view of the lovely valleys below.—See Ford’s “Handbook of Spain.”

Such was the birthplace of the brothers Valdés, and such the evidences of the good government of the family and the liberty and prosperity of the people under their rule.

¹ Mr. Ford, in his “Handbook of Spain,” ed. 1855, p. 561, speaking of the situation of the field of Villalar, says—“Leaving Toro, and continuing on the right bank of the Duero . . . to Villalar, where (April 23rd, 1521) the Conde de Haro defeated the *Comuneros*, led by Juan de Padilla, and crushed this popular insurrection—one raised in reality against the *Estrangero* and the foreign favourites of Charles V., not against the king of Spain himself. . . . Padilla was beheaded the next day at Torde-

sillas. . . . He was the husband of Maria Pacheco, of whom there is such a fine portrait by *El Mudo* at Bowood, and to whom, before his execution he wrote that most touching and manly letter preserved by Sandoval, and translated by Robertson.”

The reader who wishes to have an unprejudiced opinion of the views and aims of the popular party, may consult in the British Museum a small printed document of the Articles of the Constitution proposed by the Junta. It will be found under the head “Castile,” press-mark 1389 b, with the title *Proyecto de la Constitución de la Junta de las Comunidades de Castilla*. Valladolid, imp. de D. Manuel Aparicio, 1842. 8vo. pp. 8 and 13.

² “Dialogo de la Lengua,” ed. 1860, p. 153.

³ Petri Martyris Anglerii, Epist. DCLXXXIX. p. 380, writing to the

the other, Juan de Valdés, our author, was for a short time Chamberlain, *Camarero*, to Pope Adrian VI. They were twin brothers, and the identity of their personal appearance, manners, and mental qualifications, was so perfect that they were at all times liable to be mistaken one for the other. This may have been one cause why later writers have been led to combine their distinctive names into one—by this means confounding the persons and the circumstances of the twin brothers.¹

The distinct personality and twinship of the brothers are proved beyond all doubt by letters both of Erasmus and Juan Gines de Sepulveda, who knew them both personally. Erasmus, writing to Juan de Valdés in 1528, expresses himself thus:—

DESIDERIUS ERASMUS TO JUAN DE VALDÉS.

Most Accomplished Youth—Your brother, Alfonso Valdés, has conferred such obligations upon me, that I ought to love whoever in any way belongs to him. But [besides this] you, as I hear, are so like him, both in personal appearance and readiness of mind, that you might seem to be not TWINS, but one individual. I think it very proper, therefore, to love you BOTH alike. I hear that you are given to liberal studies, in order that you may embellish your naturally virtuous disposition with every sort of adornment. Why, then, should any one exhort you to study, when of your own accord you follow this excellent pursuit? It is more to the purpose to congratulate and praise you. Rest assured that I am no one's more than your brother's, and not less yours than his. Farewell.

Basle, 1st March, 1528.²

Sepulveda, historiographer to Charles V.,³ after the retirement of Juan de Valdés from Spain to Italy, where he passed the remainder of his days, thus writes from Rome, September 7th (1531?), in reply to a letter from Alfonso,

Marquis de los Velez y Mondejar in 1520, mentions "Alfonso Valdesio, magnæ spei juvene, cujus patrem Fernandum de Valdés rectorem conchensem nostris."—"Alfonso Valdés, a youth of great promise, whose father, Hernando de Valdés, was Governor of Cuenca."

¹ Llorente speaks doubtfully ("Historia de la Inquisicion de España," ed. Barcelona, 1835, cap. xxv. Art. I. p. 311):—"I have mentioned him (Juan de Valdés) as a separate person, because my notes call him Alonso; but if Fra Domingo Rojas spoke the truth, he was called Juan Alonso de Valdés. Nicolas Antonio, in his 'Biblioteca,' took him for a distinct person." The Abate Pieran-

tonio Serassi, in his letters of the Conte B. Castiglione, Padova, 1769-71, 4to. vol. ii. p. 169, is also misled, although he might have corrected it, having before him the copy of a letter written by Alfonso, signed simply "muy certo Serv. Alonso de Valdés."

² Erasmus, Opera, Lugd. Bat. Epist. 1030, Col. 1165.

³ Juan Gines de Sepulveda, a Spanish historian, born about 1490 at Pozo-Blanco, near Cordova, of a noble family, whom Erasmus in his "Ciceronianus" cites as one of the best Latin writers of his time; and this judgment is confirmed by posterity.—See "Biographie Universelle."

recommending his brother Juan to his notice and good offices:—

You ask me to receive your brother, should he come to me, in the same manner as yourself. Can I receive him otherwise, when, as I look at him—whether he is standing or sitting, whether he is speaking or silent, in short, whether he is in action or doing nothing—I fancy that I am looking upon yourself? And, what is no less remarkable, he so closely represents you, not in features alone, but also in talents, learning, manners, and even in his pursuits, that again and again he appears to be your very self, and not your brother.¹

The twin brothers received a liberal education, according to that period, when learning was still struggling with her fetters; and to judge from their writings, and from the duties that occupied them, Alfonso directed his studies to jurisprudence and Latin composition; Juan, to his native language, and the originals of the sacred Scriptures, Hebrew and Greek.

They were not trained in these by the Commentaries of the schools; and in this respect the brother reformers had this advantage, that they were not theologians, and hence they had not afterwards, in the self-taught progress of their minds, to *unlearn* the doubts and reasonings of sophistical formulas. They regarded religion not as a system or a science, but rather as practical morality, divinely exalted and enlightened; as inspired doctrine, having its manifestation in the daily conduct of life by faith.

To apprehend fully the characters of these brothers, it is necessary to give a short account of the distinguished individuals who mainly influenced the direction of their minds, and determined the course of their career. We gain some glimpses in the distance of past ages of their early training and their teachers, and we are anxious to establish in the mind of the reader the idea that the career of Juan de Valdés must necessarily be connected with that of his brother Alfonso. The brothers being twins, undistinguishable by every one, and inseparable in their youth, followed, for their introduction into life, the active, animated, and roving court of the sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella. The education they received there was of the same kind as what they had received under the paternal roof in Cuenca, which it served to complete.

¹ "Jo. Genesius Sepulvedæ Opera." Madrid, vol. iii. Epist. XIV. pp. 107-8.

It is believed that Juan de Valdés did not imagine the character of a wise and virtuous woman, but really portrayed the personal disposition of his maternal grandmother in the subjoined extract from pages 315—323 of his *Diálogo de Mercurio i Caron*.¹ She is represented as a wife and mother, and her daughter, the mother of Alfonso and Juan de Valdés, had for her husband the Regidor Don Fernando de Valdés, probably one of the four sons-in-law mentioned. The mother, then, of the twins is portrayed as a companion worthy of that noble patrician, and would naturally have educated her sons as she herself had been educated. The passage quoted runs as follows:—

MERCURY : What soul is this, which comes along singing ?

CHARON : It seems to be a woman.

MERCURY : So it is.

CHARON : I do not know whether she will avoid us.

SOUL : Sometimes, those who are the readiest to flee are they who yield themselves with the least difficulty to be conquered. Since, when alive, I did not shun men whom I might fear, holding in my mind the firm resolution to live chastely, why should I now avoid you, from whom I cannot expect any affront ?

MERCURY : O soul, not of woman, but rather of high-spirited man ! are you willing to tell us how you lived when upon earth ?

SOUL : Yes, most willingly. That which my parents left me of greatest value was the ability to read, and some little knowledge of Latin. Such pleasure did I feel in reading sacred Scripture, that I learnt much of it by heart ; and not satisfied with the mere knowledge of it, I endeavoured to conform my life and conduct to it, losing no opportunity of instructing those of my female friends and companions who conversed with me in what God had taught me ; but with so much modesty and moderation, that I could not be blamed, knowing what peril attached to my age and sex, and what caution I had to exercise in my personal carriage—for doubtless we women are constrained much more than men to hold any opinion we may favour with distrust, until it previously has been very strictly examined and discussed. And because silence in women, and especially in young women, is becoming and praiseworthy, as excessive talkativeness is unbecoming and disreputable, I ever strove that my actions should speak louder than my tongue. Thus I lived many years, without the desire to be a nun, or to marry ; contemplating one style of life as most alien to my condition, and the dangers and labours incident to the other. My great fear was, lest they should give me a husband so estranged from my views that he should pervert me from my own line of duty, or that I might have to lead a weary life with him. For this cause I determined not to marry ; but, at last, everything having been well weighed, and recalling all the advantages of which I had read in connection with marriage, and it appearing to me to be difficult to guard virginity as it ought to be guarded, although that state be higher and excellent, commended by Jesus Christ both by example and by precept, and afterwards by St. Paul, and carried out by many saints, I held it to

¹ "Reformistas Antiguos Españoles," tomo iv. : "Dos Dialogos escritos por Juan de Valdés, Año 1550."

be safer for me to marry. But as it is neither allowed nor held reputable in women to select the husband whom they like, but they seem obliged to take the man whom their fathers, brothers, or relatives are pleased to give them, I repeatedly asked them that they would not look to either family or wealth, but to the qualities of the soul, for it was with the soul's virtues that I contemplated marriage. At length they gave me a husband, with whom God only knows what I suffered at the beginning; nevertheless, I suffered patiently, trusting in the goodness of God that I should rather lead him to adopt my views than he lead me to adopt his. And I availed myself of opportunity so carefully, countermining his vices by virtues, his pride by meekness, his rudeness by caresses, his extravagance by moderation, his diversions and luxuries by my chaste and holy exercises, and his anger by patience; ever regulating myself with profound and perfect humility in all my relations with him; at times dissimulating certain things, at times tolerating and permitting others, and at times softly reprehending those things which appeared to me to be clearly deserving of rebuke; that by degrees I tamed him. In this manner I led him to lay aside all his vicious and evil habits, and embrace virtue with such earnestness, that within a short interval I learned of him what I had taught him. And thus getting used to each other's ways, and striving to please each other, we lived in such peace, love, and concord, that all marvelled at seeing him so altered, and at the change that I had wrought in him, as also at our mutual sympathy.

MERCURY: Had you children?

SOUL: We lived many years without any.

MERCURY: Did it not grieve you to find yourself childless?

SOUL: Those persons grieve, when childless, who desire children for their own gratification; but I, who neither lived nor desired anything for myself, felt nothing that should cause pain. Whilst God withheld children from me, I gave Him unbounded thanks, being persuaded that such a disposition was to my benefit and to His service. When He gave me them, I rendered Him the same thanks, entreating Him that he should direct and teach them for His service, striving as much as in me lay to instruct them to accomplish this end.

MERCURY: I wonder at what you say, for women are wont to importune God, with great persistence, that He would give them children.

SOUL: My opinion was most opposed to this; not that I did not hold children to be a special gift of God, but, being uncertain how they might turn out, I did not dare to desire them, but that God would accomplish His purpose, being assured that His appointment would be the best. And women who share my opinion escape God knows how many superstitious practices that they fall into at every step, in order to have children, to the no small dishonour of God, and injury to the Christian religion.

MERCURY: Had you sons or daughters?

SOUL: Daughters.

MERCURY: What trouble?

SOUL: Trouble? Nay, rather a very great comfort for mothers to have daughters, with whom they can relax, and whom they can indoctrinate with right principles. Good mothers are solaced with greater ease in daughters than in sons; for the daughters associate with, and serve them, until death, and never lose their love; but sons, almost as soon as they are born, run hither and thither, and neither know nor reciprocate their fathers' and mothers' love. On the other hand, it is a marvel if you see a disobedient daughter, whilst obedient sons are exceedingly rare. It is but seldom that we see daughters who differ from their parents, whilst we constantly encounter sons who persecute their mother.

MERCURY : But mothers have a sore trouble in guarding their daughters ?

SOUL : You speak of bad mothers ; for the mother stamps the daughter with her own character, and this is the reason why it is as difficult and wearisome for the bad to prevent their daughters from being so likewise, as it is easy for the good to make their daughters to resemble them.

MERCURY : What anxieties mothers endure with their daughters !

SOUL : Many more with their sons ; for from their birth they are subject to a thousand perils : when children, of hurting or maiming themselves ; and when grown up, of losing life ; and finally, there is the distant journey upon which, or in the battle-field, they die, giving their parents mortal agony.

MERCURY : It is a sore labour to find husbands and provide marriage portions for the daughters.

SOUL : I was wholly freed from this trouble ; for I educated my daughters so virtuously, and had so many suitors who sought them as wives, that I had numbers from amongst whom to select. True it is, that the dowry is not raised by the father without trouble ; but as I disregarded mere worldly vainglory, and was more disposed to marry my daughters to virtuous men than to either rich or influential ones, I easily, and without effort, married them all, and, moreover, much to my own satisfaction. And with four daughters I gained the esteem of four sons-in-law, whom I ever held as sons, and who held me as their mother—which is never the case when sons marry, for you bring home as many enemies as you bring daughters-in-law.

MERCURY : How did you get on with your men and maid-servants ?

SOUL : As with my sons—inoculating them with principles and guiding them in that which they owed as service to God.

MERCURY : Did you make them fast, pray, and discipline themselves ?

SOUL : I will tell you. The things which are good both in themselves and in all places, and which cannot be left undone without sin, I encouraged them beyond everything to do, striving that they should not deviate a hair's breadth from them. As to other things, which are good and adapted to some, but not so to others—to which a person feels disposed at one time, and indisposed at another—which heal some, and kill others—which some approve, and others condemn,—I recommended them to be used with much discretion, banishing and expelling from my house every form of superstition and hypocrisy ; seeking that there should be much more inwardly than was shown outwardly.

MERCURY : At what age did you die ?

SOUL : At fifty years of age.

MERCURY : Did you make your will ?¹

SOUL : All that, I leave commended to my husband ; and I am now about to enjoy that consummate and perfect good so intensely desired by me.

CHARON : Let her go, Mercury ; and remember that it is late.

The opinion expressed at the beginning of this long extract, that the character portrayed for the grandmother of the Valdés' tended, through the disposition impressed upon the mother, to fashion the nature of their infant minds, may not appear to be far-fetched when we continually see,

¹ By Spanish law, the wife's property is held independently of the husband.

in numberless instances, that the very forms and genius of the grandparents are reproduced as a natural effect, with increased similarity, in the second generation.

He who carried forward this domestic training of the affections and manners of the brothers was Pedro Martir¹ de Angleria. From the year 1492, he held in the Court the royal title of *Maestro de los Caballeros*, Master of the Horse, whose office thus exercised we can scarcely exaggerate if we affirm that, during the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, there was scarcely a well-born youth, inclined by the natural bent of his mind to liberal studies, who had not, for a longer or shorter period, Angleria for his master.

Towards the close of the 15th century, there arose in various countries, individuals who, impressed with a strong sense of ecclesiastical abuses, cherished a desire to reform them, and to advance the improvement of society both in Church and State. In Spain we have but to instance the names of Cardinal Ximenes, Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, and especially Pedro Martir de Anghiera or Angleria. With regard to Cardinal Ximenes, we may refer the reader to Prescott's "History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella."² Of Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, Conde de Tendilla, we may quote the short summary of his characteristics in the words of Ticknor:—

On whatever side we regard the character of Mendoza, we feel sure that he was an extraordinary man; but the combination of his powers is, after all, what is most to be wondered at. In all of them, however, and especially in the union of a life of military adventure and active interest in affairs with a sincere love of learning and elegant letters, he showed himself to be a genuine Spaniard; the elements of greatness which his various fortunes had thus unfolded within him being all among the elements of Spanish national poetry and eloquence, in their best age and most generous development.³

But his most remarkable genius may be said to have consisted in a quick and intimate perception of the talents and characters of other persons,⁴ even of foreigners, which led

¹ There were two historical persons of the name of Peter Martyr—one distinguished by the epithet of Angleria, Angliera, or Anghiera, a word latinized by himself; and the other by that of Vermiglio. They were both Italians. The former derived his name from his family, which belonged to the town of Anghiera, situated on Lake Maggiore, and was born in 1459, at Arona, on the same lake. The latter, Vermiglio, was born in 1500, at Florence, and was called also by his family name.

² Vol. ii. p. 492, ed. 1838.

³ "History of Spanish Literature," vol. i. p. 486, ed. 1863.

⁴ Possibly to this same Mendoza, Conde de Tendilla, Spain is indebted for the writer surnamed her Tully for his eloquence. While resident in the palace of the Alhambra, as Governor or Viceroy of Granada, he beheld from the window a child struggling with another boy of his own age: looking on, he saw them come to blows, maltreating each other. The Count sent to separate

him to bring forward their services, recommending them to appropriate offices in the Government, always leading them into a course of Spanish policy and interest strictly national. As he lived at a period when society was in a state of transition, his mind was directed, as all truly great minds are, to its progress in advance of its present position; and by this means he became a teacher of his own age, and a master of those eminent persons who should lead on the progress of society in the generation after he had himself passed away.

The Conde de Tendilla was indeed an extraordinary man, *a master of masters*, and by his example eminently surpassing, in morality, intelligence, and knowledge, all other persons of his time who were dignified by the title of nobility and gentry.¹ A proof of his discriminating mind may be instanced in his selection of the Italian, Pedro Martir de Angleria.

Pedro Martir de Angleria came to Spain in the year 1488, at the age of 29, being brought in the train of Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, Conde de Tendilla, when he returned from Rome, where he had been sent as Ambassador Extraordinary to the Pope Innocent VIII. from Ferdinand and Isabella. Mendoza presented him to his sovereigns avowedly with the exalted purpose that he should educate the young nobility of Spain, teaching them to love good studies and good books; imbuing them with the persuasion that true knighthood and gentility consists, not in robbing and fighting, in gallantry, idleness, or intrigue, but in surpassing other men in knowledge, justice, truth, and good manners; and good manners

them, and the child coming up to the Count offered an apology for his quarrel, justifying his conduct with arguments so pertinent and so well digested, setting them forth with such vivacity and grace, that the Count instantly admired and loved him. It appeared to him that there was something great about that child. He desired that he should be informed who he was; he ascertained his humble station and poverty; he desired one of his dependents that he should, at his expense, train the child and educate him; and this child proved subsequently to be the great Spanish writer who, as says the Licentiate Muñoz, relating this incident, corroborated by Fra L. Sousa, in calling himself Father Luis de Granada, highly favoured the city of his birth, because, by adorning it with the association of

his name, it has been raised throughout the world.

¹ The celebrated Doña Maria de Pacheco, who married that highly distinguished nobleman, Don Juan de Padilla, was his daughter. She was a woman of the highest range of thought, and, though ambitious, endowed with that frankness and magnanimity which intense love of liberty alone imparts to the soul, together with an abhorrence of the tyranny of man no less intense. The successful issue of the war in Granada was, to a great extent, due to the Count's sagacious counsel and wonderful stratagems, exerted—

“Until the last chains were broken,
And the Arabs, already conquered,
Saw trembling in the breeze,
From the battlements of the Alhambra,
The cross-marked banners of Isabella.”

consist in a graceful respect to all persons. Mendoza brought Angleria into the strictest intimacy with Hernando de Talavera, Queen Isabella's confessor, and afterwards Archbishop of Granada, when Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza resided as first Governor and Alcaide in the Alhambra. Thus Angleria became the educator of most of the young nobles of Spain in that generation, whose talents were afterwards displayed throughout the almost European sway of the Emperor Charles V. This is shown in his delightful volume of Epistles, first printed at Alcalá, in 1530, by Miguel de Eguia.¹

No work written in Latin, and printed in Spain by Spaniards contemporary with Angleria, can equal in attractive interest this volume of his 813 Epistles, written during the thirty-seven years which intervened between 1488 and 1525. They embrace the history of Spain, and even, it may be said, of Europe during that period; so much so, that they have been the rich mine from which the most celebrated writers have drawn their materials. In the Epistles of Angleria were found those notices of Spain which Geddes gave in the last century, in the once very popular volumes of his *Miscellaneous Essays*.² Gibbon also used them as his authority.³ These Epistles furnish the subjects and colouring from which Washington Irving derived the most lively combinations of his animated descriptions, and Prescott, the historian, his charming narratives. If Hallam, in his "History of the Literature of Southern Europe," tells us that we ought to mistrust Angleria's dates of facts, it should be understood that the remark applies solely to the work "De Rebus Oceanicis et Novo Orbe," where he had to fix the dates by references received from others. But Hallam's doubts do not apply

¹ "Opus epistolarū Petri Martyris Anglerij Mediolanēsis Protonotarij Ap̄lici atq̄q; a cōsilijs rerū Indicarū. nūc p̄mū et natū et medioeri cura excusum : quod q̄dē preter stili venustatē nostrorū q̄q; tepor historiarū loco esse poterit.

"Cēpluti anno Dñi M.DXXX Cū privilegio Cēsareo. In Ædibus Michaelis de Eguia." Folio.

12 leaves not numbered, and fo. I.—CXCIX. containing 816 letters.

"Opus Epistolarum Petri Martyris Anglerii Mediolanensis Protonotarii Apostolici Prioris Archiepiscopatus Granatensis, atque à Consiliis Rerum Indicarum Hispanicis, tanta cura excusum, ut preter styli venustatem quoque fungi possit vice luminis His-

toriarū superiorum temporum. Cui accesserunt Epistolæ Fernandi de Pulgar Coetanæi Latinarū pariter atque Hispanicarū cum Tractatu Hispanicarū de Viris Castellæ Illustribus Editio Postrema. Amstelodami, Typis Elzevirianis. Veneunt Parisiis, apud Fredricum Leonard, Typographum Regium, c1o 1o Lxx." Folio; printed in two columns, containing 813 letters.* Pulgar 32 letters; and Los claros varones de España, 32 letters; these last are in Spanish.

* This is the edition used.

² *Miscellaneous Tracts*, by Michael Geddes. D.L. 1709-14. 8vo. 3 vols.

³ Gibbon, *Miscellaneous Works*, vol. v. ed. 1814, p. 160, *et seq.*

to the dates which are found in the Epistles, where Angleria alludes to events which passed under his own eyes, or in which he acted in an official manner, or knew by reason of his situation and duties. Juan de Vergara, treating of the fidelity of Angleria in his letters to Florian de Ocampo, remarks—"Your Honour knows that of all the events of those times in the whole empire of the Catholic sovereigns [Ferdinand and Isabella], and afterwards to the end of the war of the Comunidades, I think we can have no memorials more clear and certain than the Epistles of Pedro Martir; and of almost all that can be found in them, I was an eye-witness of the diligence with which he put down in writing, on the instant, every event that occurred." How grateful, then, should be the memory of such a writer to those who make use of him as an authority!¹

Angleria, being a quick discerner of talent and character, nominated the most fitting men for the most appropriate stations. He held the first link of a chain which united them in one line of policy. He selected Mercurino de Gattinara, a Piedmontese, a man whose abilities are proved by the success of all his measures, for the Grand Chancellorship; and near him, in an almost independent position, he nominated Alfonso de Valdés, as Latin Secretary to the Emperor. One of Angleria's intimate political friends was the Cardinal Governor Adrian, Charles's tutor; and when the latter became Pope, Juan de Valdés was placed near his person, filling the position of *Camaretero*, Chamberlain (?), at the Vatican.

Adrian of Utrecht, tutor to Charles V. under Chièvres, was afterwards Cardinal Tortosa, and Pope, under the title of Adrian VI. Adrian was a man of unblemished reputation, upright, pious, active, very serious, full of benevolence and pure intentions, a lover of Flemish art and polite learning, and a friend and protector of Erasmus from the attacks of the bigots of the schools and "saints of the world,"² as Juan afterwards called them. He sought to bring about peace and concord between the nations of Europe. He was a decided advocate for the reformation of the Church, in which abominable practices, abuses in spiritual things, and an exorbitant straining of prerogative, had found a place near the "Holy Chair." Adrian set to work with scrupulous conscientiousness, yet he disappointed innumerable expectations; for his pontificate lasted but about a year,

¹ See an interesting note on Pedro Martir Angleria, by Prescott, "History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella," vol. ii. pp. 155-158.

² The Hundred and Ten Considerations. Consid. LXXVI.—LXXXI.

so that he had time to do little more than disturb abuses and excite opposition;¹ Juan de Valdés could have remained but a short time in his service and confidence. He refers, in all probability, to this circumstance in his fifty-first "Consideration," in which he endeavours to explain in what manner God makes Himself *to be felt*, by a parable of the order and dependence of the Pontiff's house, where all that dwell in it are dependent upon him, are sustained by him; and the Pontiff dying, the whole household breaks up, "so that he who was secretary is secretary no longer, and the same of all the other officers of the household, who, on the Pontiff's death, lose the being which his life gave them."² Short as this connection with Adrian must necessarily have been, it would be long enough for an intelligent and observant youth to become, under such a man, well acquainted with the state of things at Rome; to have had his mind directed to the reformation of morals and manners while in the very field of corruption; and to learn the features of those special evils which are drawn with so much clearness of outline in the two Dialogues which he subsequently wrote, especially in the *Dialogo: en que particularmente se tratan las cosas acaccidas en Roma, el año de 1527*—a dialogue in which the circumstances are particularly discussed which occurred at Rome in 1527, arranged by Juan de Valdés, although circulated and acknowledged, for sufficient reasons, as a work by his brother.³

We will now present to the reader some of Angleria's sentiments, which must naturally have influenced the minds of his friends, and especially of his youthful disciples—those with whom he held familiar intercourse. Among such friends and pupils we may name Don Hernando de Valdés, the Regidor of Cuenca, and these his two sons, Alfonso and Juan. In Letter CXCI., written from Alcalá to Mendoza, the 31st May, 1498, he thus speaks of the martyrdom of Girolamo Savonarola:—

You already know that a certain friar of Ferrara, of the order of Preachers (as they are called), went on a long time condemning from pulpits in the city of Florence the bad life and evil manners of the Cardinals and Pope. This good man so irritated the Pontiff [Alexander VI.] that he caused him to be burnt alive as a heretic by the Apostolic judges. Notice, in this occurrence, the artifices with which he weaves his scheme

¹ Ranke's "History of the Popes."

² Consideration LI. Oxford, 1638, 4to. In the edition of Cambridge, 1646, 12mo., the editor has changed the author's words, *Papa, nella casa di Papa*, to "the Prince, the Prince's household." Nicholas Ferrar, the trans-

lator, gave them correctly in his edition, Oxford, 1638.

³ "Carta del Secretario Valdés al Conde Baltasar Castiglione, Nunzio en España" [1528], in "Dialogo de la Lengua," ed. Madrid, 1860, pp. 9-15, Apéndice.

when he wishes to effect a man's destruction, and be on your guard accordingly.

In Letter CCLXV., from Segovia, where the court then was, dated Nov. 11, 1503, he tells Mendoza and his friend Fra Hernando de Talavera, first Archbishop of Granada, himself one of the first victims of the Spanish Inquisition:—

Information has reached us that the Chief Pontiff, Alexander VI., has breathed his last. This is what they write from Rome. The Duke Valentino, the Pope's son, invited certain wealthy cardinals; and in order that these should not suspect any treachery, he also invited his beloved Pontiff to meet them. He ordered two silver flagons to be filled with the most exquisite wine, putting a mortal poison into one of them. He charged a familiar servant of his, acquainted with the fact, that he should pour out from the poisoned vessel to the guests, and should fill the goblets for himself and the Pontiff from the other flagon. But the Ruler of all things, who is a just Judge, turned the craft against the contriver.

The Pontiff sent the servant, the accomplice, on an errand which obliged him to leave the sideboard. Valentino entreated the Pope to send another servant on the message. The Pope insisted that the above-mentioned servant should go. Valentino, in order to escape suspicion, remained silent. The other servant, who was left in charge of the flagons, and who was ignorant of the wicked design, when they called for wine, poured out to the Pope and Valentino from the poisoned vessel; and from the pure one to the cardinals, whose death had been plotted. Alexander, who, as an aged man, had not strength to resist the violence of the poison, died; but Valentino, the contriver of the infamous transaction, conscious of the circumstances, succeeded in arresting the poison by the aid of clever medical men. His youth likewise contributed to render the treatment efficacious; yet he lost his hair, his skin peeled off, and his flesh wasted, through the virulence of the poison. It is even reported that they kept him swaddled in the viscera of freshly-slaughtered mules. It is in everybody's mouth how this Pope Alexander VI. lived. Our reigning queen, a good Catholic, does not appear to have been much affected by the intelligence of the Pontiff's death, though her consort was absent, he being at that time on the French frontier.

In an earlier Letter, No. CXVII., dated from Saragossa, September 18, 1492, Angleria, upon learning Alexander's election, wrote to Valenziano Francisco de Prado, a member of the household of the recently-made Pope, in the following terms:—

It is said that thy patron has, upon the death of Innocent VIII., been elevated to the tiara, and that he assumes the title of Alexander VI. To thee, I, as one of thy friends, owe congratulations, since I think that, if thou hast not gathered more from his table than a bare subsistence, he will now assign thee a better table from the finest of the wheat which he possesses. But as to ourselves and the Christian religion, I do not yet know whether I should rejoice or not; for a report has reached my ears of intrigues base, sacrilegious, and infamous, which have served as steps, by means of which thy patron has just succeeded in attaining this eminence—that is, he owes his elevation rather to the agency of gold, silver, and great promises, than to learning, chastity, and the fervour of charity.

If this be so, then he has attempted to scale the walls of paradise for the purpose of dethroning Christ and glorifying himself; not to do Him honour, &c.

And this is not the strongest part of the letter against the Pope Alexander the Sixth. In Letter CXVIII., which follows, addressed to the Conde de Tendilla, who had, when at Rome, been upon intimate terms with Pope Alexander Borgia, Angleria shows himself astonished at his election, "sought much more by Alexander for self-glorification, and for the enrichment of his sacrilegiously-begotten sons—begotten whilst he was a Cardinal—and because, from his licentiousness, the absolute plunder of the patrimony of St. Peter would necessarily be accomplished during his Papacy." Thus did the tutor of the brothers Valdés express himself in a letter to a Spanish nobleman respecting a Spanish Pope. It was his policy which suggested the Instructions¹ which the sub-Prior of Santa Cruz received when sent, in 1498, on a secret mission to Henry VII., King of England, in order to solicit his co-operation with Ferdinand and Isabella, and some other influential Catholic princes, for the correction of the flagitious conduct of Alexander VI.

This extensive design of ecclesiastical reformation ante-

¹ These Instructions could not be found by Mr. Bergenroth for his "Calendar of State Papers," either in our English archives or in those of Simancas. From a document of later date, Mr. Bergenroth supposes the mission of the sub-Prior of Santa Cruz to have had reference to the suppression of heresy; but the reader will perceive that they embrace a much wider scope of policy—even the correction of the Papacy itself.

See the Instructions at the end of the chapter. See also the printed documents in the British Museum, where they may be found under the press-mark "Garcilasso, 1445 g.," bearing the title of "Carta á los Reyes. D. Fernando y D. Isabel, de Su Embajador en Roma en 1498, inedita. Van Adjuntos Otros Documentos Diplomáticos de Aquella Epoca, tambien ineditos. San Sebastian, imprenta de Ignacio Ramon Baroja, 1842."

The same small tract which contains the Instructions, comprises also a letter of scarcely less importance than the preceding document, from Garcilasso, the father of the poet, while ambassador at Rome, so early as the year 1498. This letter, amongst other conclusions it supplies, shows that certain persons of *note* (who are named), professing heretical or reformed opinions, had fled from Spain and sought re-

fuge in *Rome* during the pontificate of Alexander VI.; that the Inquisition then existing in *Spain* desired the sanction and support of the Pope's authority for its establishment, which he was slow to give, though solicited for that purpose by Garcilasso; that Garcilasso, finding the Pope to purpose arresting Peter of Aranda, Bishop of Calahorra, on some pretext of charges of irregularities, &c., but in reality, as Garcilasso thought, from an avaricious desire to secure the revenues of his bishopric, availed himself of the occasion to suggest that the Pope should at the same time arrest the *refugee reformers*, thereby giving to both proceedings the colour of *zeal for the Church*, and that this was accordingly done. The expressions of Garcilasso in reference to "this infection," as then still reigning, to be purged from Spain to wipe away an opprobrium to the Spanish name, are also remarkable as indicating a greater diffusion of the principles of reformation than may hitherto have been discerned in the history of Spain at that period. The letter refers, besides, to the English marriage—that of Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, to Arthur, the then Prince of Wales, who was married Nov. 14th, 1501, and died April 2nd, 1502.

cedent to Luther was suggested by the genius of Pedro Martir Angleria, who was himself selected and advanced to his position by the still more comprehensive mind of Mendoza. These efforts for reformation of the Church, within the Church, were consistent with the truly national policy of Spain at that period, and tend to elucidate the moderate policy of Charles V., in the succeeding generation, in his contests with the Pope, and his forbearance towards the German Reformation.

We shall refrain from quoting here the energetic language with which Angleria describes the deeds, the fortunes, and the incidents of other Popes, his contemporaries. In his letters he paints to the life Pope Julius II., personally engaged in the siege of Mirandola, during an inclement winter, looking imperturbably upon the deaths of numbers of his clerical dependents, who were struck down at his side: he subsequently represents him as dying suddenly, in his 69th year, having amassed great treasure for the Church. He portrays Leo X., elected Pope contrary to custom, when but 38 years old—for Cardinals ever take pleasure in electing the decrepit, cherishing both the desire and hope of witnessing their early removal. He then tells us that Leo X. was not so loving a husband to his spouse, the Church, as Julius II.; for the latter called her his spouse, and as such covered her with jewels and wealth; but Leo treated her with neglect, and was solely intent upon enriching his relatives. He states that Leo took the duchy of Urbino from the nephew of Pope Julius, who at high noonday, and in the middle of the market-place of Urbino, had run his sword through the body of the Cardinal of Pavia; but that Leo had not done this to punish the murderer of the Cardinal, but that he might make his sister's son Duke of Urbino. Angleria then paints the cruel, loathsome, and disgusting manner in which the Cardinal of Sienna sought to poison the above-mentioned Leo X., whom he called a cruel tyrant; and how the Pope avenged himself of his swinish adversary; and that Angleria, in contemplating such examples of avarice and ambition in popes and cardinals, astonished, knows not what to think, and remits the whole to the incomprehensible judgments of God, as is shown by his admirable Letter DLXXXVII.

Ever consistently opposing himself to acts of pontifical cupidity, in Letter DXCVI. he dexterously puts them to shame. As Valdés has done at page 140 of the "Dialogo de la Lengua," "a friar in a sermon introduces the Church, who [complains of God that her husband maltreats her, and makes her say:

'And, Lord, if you do not believe me, look at the cardinals who have just been made for me''¹; so in this letter Angleria condemns the simoniacal creation of 31 cardinals by Leo X., in the year 1517, saying that the old cardinals bit their lips with rage at seeing their office so degraded. ["*Labia mordent omnes prae rabie. Vilesit jam gradus ille purpuratus.*"] But the principal topic in this letter is the advice which he gives in it to his friends and pupils, the Marquises de Velez, and Mondejar, of the General Synod of the Spanish clergy assembled at Madrid in September, 1517, to oppose themselves to the papal pretensions of Leo, who challenged the tenth part of the income of the Spanish clergy, upon the pretext of an invasion of the Turks. Angleria represented in the synod the chapter of the canons of Granada, whose prior and dean he was. All the clergy agreed to petition, and if the Pope insisted, to disobey him. They said that this was a burden that had been discontinued, and was oppressive to Spain, and in violation of the laws established by councils.

But Angleria especially shows his knowledge and opinions of popes and cardinals when he reports the death of Leo X., and the elevation of his friend the Cardinal of Tortosa to the Papacy, under the title of Adrian VI. He was a friend of Adrian from the time that the latter began to make any figure, or from the cradle of his fortune—*à suis fortuna cunabulis*, as Angleria himself says; that is, from the time when Adrian came as envoy to King Ferdinand the Catholic, from his grandson Charles of Ghent, whose tutor he had been.

The terms of acquaintance between Adrian and Angleria were converted, during the last five years of Adrian's stay in Spain, into those of intimate friendship—from the year 1517 to 1522. And when Angleria saw Adrian chosen Pope, he ceased to consider his fortune enviable, and began to compassionate and commiserate him. He contemplated him, when invested with the tiara, as a wretched slave; and so much the more wretched, as his adulators proclaimed him "*blessed Father.*" And this is but a feeble translation of the animated expressions which Angleria employs in setting forth his feelings: "*Calamitosior erit,*" says he, "*licet populo prodeat phaleratus, Beatumque esse inclamitent vociferatores*

¹ What is put between brackets is suppressed by Mayans in his edition of the "*Dialogo de la Lengua.*" See his "*Origenes de las Lenguas,*" tomo ii. in all those copies intended for general sale,

but in other copies probably intended for presents he inserts it. Don Usóy y Río had one of these copies without suppression.

adulandi causa. Majoro igitur miseratione dignus, quandoquidem in hac lusoriatabula senionem integrum est assecutus." While just before he had written: "To tell the truth, I revered the man whilst he was free, and envied his spirit. Now he is a slave; and as I despise a slave, my envy is changed to pity."—*Ut verum fatear, observabam virum dum liber erat, et virtuti ejus invidiebam. Servus effectus est; uti servum minoris facio, estque in miserationem invidia commutata.* Angleria did not purpose to take leave in person, when Adrian set out for Rome; but the fear of being discourteous, and the letters of the new Pope and those of his clerical dependents, in which they pressed him to do so, compelled him to go. "*Pudor, tandem, et Pontificis familiarium et amicorum litera me impulerunt.*" Angleria left Valladolid on the 14th of February, 1522, where he had passed sixteen months, tranquil and happy days, in the charming house of the Commendatore Ribera. Free from all constraint, he devoted himself to letters, and found recreation in cultivating flowers and aromatic plants in the gardens attached to the house. He arrived late at night of the 11th of March, at Vittoria, and presented himself to the Pontiff early next day, the 12th, at the convent of San Francisco, where the Pope was staying. The Pontiff left his room at break of day, and said Mass according to custom; afterwards Angleria prostrated himself before him, while he presented his foot, adorned with the cross; he then raised and caressed Pedro Martir, recalling their old friendship. Angleria asks what commands he has for his master; the Pope replies that he would, from Logroño, to which place he was going, give him orders as to what he should do. Pedro Martir collects from the Pope's reply that it was his desire that he should accompany him to Rome, and says to him that "he had spent his best years and energies in the kingdoms of Castille; that he had devoted himself to authorship, writing upon the new worlds discovered by the Spaniards, which would cause him to live in future generations; and that for him, now aged, it would be a hard thing to change climate." The Pope replied that "he would think about it." Angleria remained silent, but did not think of going. The Pope left, giving all present his benediction; and Angleria, looking at him, turned round, and leaving without any further salutation, blessed him, esteeming him, however, an object of pity.

Angleria reports this interview in Letter DCCLVII.; and in DCCLXVIII., reporting the Pope's silent entrance into the palace of the Vatican, and his exciting coronation in

the Lateran, which took place within three days afterwards, exclaims thus: "Behold him, then, who previously, and without anxiety of any kind, lived most happily, drank from a rill, not only to satiety, but with satisfaction, more and better than if he had drunk from rivers of mighty volume, such as the Ganges or the Danube. He who but a short time ago was simply a dean of Louvaine, now seated upon a lofty throne, finds himself overwhelmed with most oppressive cares. I regret it, for he is a man of kind disposition, but wants that experience which was required in a leader of the Papal government, much more in a time like the present, when everything is hurried on by the turbulent spirit of princes. He will either do nothing, or he will be tossed like a ball by his crafty cardinals, whose habit it is either to hate the pontiffs, who but a while since were their equals, or to treat them with scorn and torment them, in the hope of seeing them leave for another world as soon as possible."

We must omit here what Angleria says as to the motive for the proceeding and persecution set on foot by the Inquisitors against the first Archbishop of Granada, Father Hernando de Talavera, his sister, and nephews. She and they were for a long while imprisoned by the Inquisition, where they were stripped of all their property and brought to the deepest indigence. His most indefatigable persecutor was the Inquisitor Luzero, whom Angleria styled *Tenebrero*.¹

The most important rights of man are practically, though not ostensibly, defended by Angleria in his interesting collection of letters, and whatever was opposed to them is combated with the energy of his powerful talents. For instance, he defends RELIGIOUS LIBERTY when he comes to treat of that subject, at page 186, in the following manner:—"No one, in my opinion, has been united by God in such intimate relationship with Himself, as that He has granted him the faculty of searching the hearts of other men; for He has reserved this His peculiar prerogative to Himself alone. Let no mortal encroach upon this, for we never learn that He ever allowed any other being to share it—no, not one of the angels. It has not been given to any man to penetrate the inward secrets of another."

At page 117, where we read, "Thou wilt find but few pure men in the world," &c., it appears to us as though we were reading a "Consideration" of Valdés. At page 193 he

¹ See Llorente, "Historia de la Inquisición." Barcelona, 1835, tomo ii. cap. x. art. iv. pp. 165-8, where he quotes the strongest language against Luzero.

portrays the state of Spain at that time, as we see it described in Valdés' "Dialogues." At page 333 he concurs with what is stated in the "Dialogo de la Lengua," that the greatness of the Emperor had been prejudicial to the prosperity and liberty of Castille. The unprecedented rapacity of the ministers who came with Charles from Flanders, and the actions of Charles's mother, Queen Juana; the insurrection of the patriots; the public and religious occurrences in Spain; —Angleria presents and judges these subjects under many aspects, just as Juan de Valdés afterwards treated them in his "Dialogues."

Angleria's opinions and ideas, as presented in his collection of Letters, serve as a key to ascertain those of Alfonso and Juan de Valdés; and they likewise explain the difference or harmony there was between the ideas of these his pupils and those of Erasmus and other foreigners.

Hence it appears to us that the Valdés, before they knew Erasmus's writings, or corresponded with him, were already mentally prepared, by Angleria's peculiar instruction and personal method, for the promotion of reform in religion and politics. But they fortified themselves in those ideas by seeing them confirmed to some extent in the works of Erasmus. Hence they enjoyed his books, eagerly sought the acquaintance of their author, and then became his useful, trusty, and disinterested friends.¹

We may likewise say that Juan and Alfonso de Valdés reciprocated the instruction and proofs of friendship which Angleria gave them. For their father, Don Fernando de Valdés, perpetual Governor of Cuenca by right of inheritance, and Don Diego Ramirez de Villaescusa de Haro, father, as we think, of Don Fernando de Valdés' wife, were the persons who gave Pedro Martir those lucid notices, which are found in his Letters, with reference to the interests, condition, and wants of Spain in the just and painful struggles of the patriotic Comunidades. Without the acquaintance of Don Fernando Valdés and Don Diego Ramirez, Angleria would not have been so valuable a councillor for the Cardinal Governor Adrian, and for the Chancellor Mercurino de Gattinara, on the occasions of those gloomy funerals of political and civil liberty in impoverished and exhausted Spain.

From what has been stated, it will be inferred that there

¹ See the whole of the printed letters which passed between Erasmus and the Valdés, translated into Spanish in vol. xvii. of "Reformistas Antiguos

Españoles," being the "Ciento i diez Consideraciones de Juan de Valdés." 1863. Apéndice, 493-554.

was a community of purpose between those who have been mentioned here, not only of sympathy, but likewise of action, for *the welfare of Spain*, “para bien de España;” and this reciprocity brought about the entrance of Alfonso de Valdés into public life in 1520.

In the month of September, 1517, there came to Spain, in Charles’s suite, amongst other Frenchmen and Flemings, a Flemish jurisconsult named Sauvage, with the rank of Grand Chancellor.¹

This personage was, in May, 1518, at his master’s side in Saragossa, having, with disgraceful rapacity, and within eight months only, extorted from Castille and remitted to Flanders more than a million ducats.² Flanders, afflicted years afterwards by the devastating sword of the ruthless Duke of Alba, wept over these flagitious transactions. However ill the Spaniards behaved, the Flemings were punished.

“Quidquid delirant Reges, plectuntur Achivi.”

Whilst at Saragossa, the grand Chancellor Sauvage was making his arrangements to plunder Arragon of a greater amount than he had taken from Castille; three *Blastuses* (Acts xii. 20), or chamberlains, his intimate dependents, slept always near him. It is remarkable that he and they died about the same time—two of them within a few days of one another, whilst the third was drowned bathing in the Ebro. They preceded their master, the Chancellor, who was already sick, and died very shortly after.

As the plan, conceived by the deceased Chancellor whilst

¹ The following statement will facilitate the distinction between the different Spanish chanceries and chancellorships. The Imperial Chancery is presided over by an individual, the Chancellor or Grand Chancellor, he being the prime-minister of the monarch; then the Chancellor of Castille, the Chancellor of Arragon, &c., were dignitaries, certain grandes who got money by the right and privilege of signing documents, warrants, and patents, principally upon nominations to offices and station in Castille, Arragon, &c. The Chanceries of Valladolid, Granada, &c., were something quite different; they are courts of justice or supreme tribunals at those places, and are so called because it likewise pertains to them to sign the warrants for holding certain offices within the district of the particular Court of Chancery. There are likewise chancellors at the universities, whose business is conducted in the Canzelario, or Chancery Court.

It will readily be perceived how the venal nominations to inferior offices of a mercenary chancellor would spread a system of mercenary oppression over the whole country.

After the death of Ximenes, Charles V. had imprudently appointed Sauvage Chancellor, and he, with Guillermo de Croy, Señor de Chievres, Charles’s former tutor and subsequent prime-minister, and his wife, vied with each other in all the refinements of extortion and venality. One fact may be mentioned from Letter DCXX. of Angleria: the *Gran Canziller*, who died at Saragossa, among the bribes or extortions that he gathered in Spain, counts one of 10,000 ducats which the Jews gave him, of the 20,000 that they had promised him, in order that he should suppress the secret accusations in the causes against them by the Inquisition. Angleria calls him a *Harpy*.

² See Angleria’s Letter DCXXII.

yet in Flanders, was to sell everything, he surrounded himself with coadjutors, introducing into the Chancery forty of his evil retainers, *paniaquados*, whom he styled secretaries, but who really were nothing better than thieves and bullies.

Death, in carrying off the Chancellor, cut off the chief head of this hydra; but the Spanish patriots, fearing lest seven other heads should sprout forth from the severed trunk, studied to prevent such a result to the best of their ability. One of the things they did to check this corruption was to introduce Alfonso Valdés into the General Chancery as Latin Secretary, which they accomplished through the influence of Don Diego Ramirez and of Angleria. By this arrangement all the subjects that mainly affected the interest of Spain had to pass under the notice of Valdés. The newly-appointed Chancellor was Mercurino de Gattinara,¹ a man of information and experience in affairs, who, being desirous to act rightly in the government, and being a foreigner, naturally confided Spanish matters almost wholly to a Spaniard in whom he at once recognized ability and honesty, who had been presented to him by his countryman Pedro Martir de Angleria, and by his friend, the noble Don Diego Ramirez de Villaescusa, one who had so much influence with his pupil, the Queen Doña Juana, the mother of Charles V.

We thus see the means by which Alfonso de Valdés was introduced into the Cabinet or Imperial Chancery. He entered upon his office of Latin Secretary in the beginning of the year 1520, and retained it permanently until the close of the year 1530. It was from the same policy, we assume, that Juan de Valdés was placed near the person of Adrian of Utrecht, and that when Adrian was elected Pope in the year 1522, Juan de Valdés accompanied the Pontiff to Rome.

¹ Mercurino Gattinara di Arborio, near Vercelli, in Piedmont, born 1465, died 1530, was an eminent juriconsult, and an honourable and enlightened man, favourable to the Reformation. He was of a noble family of Vercelli, and successively Councillor of the Duke of Savoy, and President of the Parliament of Franche-Comté. In 1518, Charles V. appointed him his Chancellor. He drew up the Articles of Conciliation between the Emperor and the Pope in 1529.

Soon after, he was raised to the dignity of Cardinal. In that same year he arranged the terms of a treaty for the defence of Italy, which was considered by Cardinal Granvelle a political *capo lavoro*. He died at Innspruck in June, 1530.—Gerdes, "Hist. Reform.," vol. i. pp. 195-204. Gerdes, "Italiæ Reform.," p. 267. See also M. Young, "Life and Times of Aonio Paleario," vol. i. p. 222, n. 2.

SECRET INSTRUCTIONS

GIVEN TO THE SUB-PRIOR OF SANTA CRUZ, SENT TO ENGLAND IN 1498.

[Document referred to at page 16, note.]

ROME.

Remarkable.

A.D. 1498.—THE KING AND THE QUEEN.

[As to the correction of Alexander VI.]

The following is what the sub-Prior of Santa Cruz is to say to the King of England in a private interview.

That which you, the sub-Prior of Santa Cruz, have to say to the King of England upon our part, when you pass through it, upon the journey which you now make by our command to Flanders, is as follows:—

That knowing his great goodwill, and how much he is a most Christian and Catholic king, and what zeal he has in divine things, and the welfare of the Church; it appeared to us that we ought to

England.

Friar.

communicate with him very secretly, and not in the presence of any other person, upon this highly important matter. That he already must know what love and attachment we have to our very Holy Father, and how much we desire to do for him. And that we are more constrained than other princes to this, not only by his being the Vicar of Jesus Christ, but because he is our countryman.¹

And of the love we cherish towards him: and of what we desire to do for him: our past acts, and especially all that has transpired in the war,² which was on account of the Church and for its defence, may well witness. And many say, that from this it comes to pass that the Pope, holding us to be so favourable and so staunch to his interests, dares to do things more exorbitant than he otherwise would:—and even recently they tell us that he is now intent upon withdrawing the Cardinal of Valencia from being of the clergy, in order to raise him in station both in the estimation of the laity and of the clergy; and this supervening upon the plan he adopted when he made him a cardinal, and upon his having stripped the Church of Benevento in order to give it to the Duke of Gandia;³ and seeing that he sells all the benefices that fall vacant, in order to purchase position for his son: and obstructs the reformation of monasteries within our realms, and still more so, all reformation of the Church of Rome, by proceedings so contrary to what the Vicar of Jesus Christ ought to do, and so scandalous, and of such evil example for all Christians.

It grieves us much, and we feel it to the soul, and both for the cause of God and for the welfare and honour of the Church, and even as far as His Holiness is concerned, we heartily desire a remedy for it, and that it may be without damage and without inconvenience to the person of His Holiness. For if it be not remedied, it might bring much damage to the whole Universal Church.

And that we, moreover, have already endeavoured privately to remedy this with His Holiness; and with relation to it have taken every step we could devise. We see not only that we have not succeeded, but it seems that the excesses and disorderly practices of His Holiness are on the increase, and are so aggravated that it requires prompt measures to ward off greater injury which might happen to the Church. And that he (the King) already knows it to be peculiarly the duty of Christian princes, to whom God has given greater power upon earth, to provide the remedy for

Alexander VI. was a Valencian.

² Of Granada.³ Town of Valencia.

this. That it does not appear to us to be desirable to attain this by means of a council, as well on account of the scandal and schism which might spring from it to the Church, as from the damage that it might bring to the person of His Holiness. But it does appear to us that we ought to attain it by admonitions and memorials, presented to His Holiness by us all through our ambassadors.

That although our entreaties have not up to this time moved him, we believe that His Holiness, seeing that we, a body of Christian princes, act unitedly against him, will, from fear, come to do that which he ought:— that to this end certain kings will follow our example, and because we believe that he (Henry VII.) as a Catholic prince, zealous for the service of God, and for the welfare and honour of the Church, would willingly concur in this; we affectionately ask that he be pleased so to act: and that he may send his ambassadors to Rome upon this subject, in order that his, and ours, and those of the princes who shall to this end combine with us, may labour with admonitions and entreaties to remedy this evil with His Holiness.

That our ambassadors shall be those who shall propound the matter, and shall carry it forward, and shall expose themselves to the affronts which will be consequent thereto.

That his ambassadors have only to agree with ours, and with those of others who shall combine against him, and to pursue the same course.

And in this manner we hope in God that it may be remedied; and those evils be avoided which might happen to the Church were it not done.

If there be peace with France;
 If there be neither peace nor war;
 If there should be war,
 Should there be war with the Archduke.¹

¹ This appears to ask what the King of England would do in any of those four cases.

ROMA.

Notable.

AÑO 1498.—EL REY E LA REYNA.

[Sobre la corrección de Alexandro VI^o

Lo que el Sopriór ha de dezir al Rey de Inglaterra, él solo aparte, es lo siguiente.

Lo que, vos, el padre Sopriór de Santa Cruz, habeis de dezir de nuestra parte al Rey de Inglaterra, quando por allí passáredes, en este camino que agora vais por nuestro mandado á Flandes, es lo siguiente:—

Que conociendo su mucha voluntad, y cuán cristianissi mo y católico Rey es: y quanto zelo tiene á las cosas de Dios, y al bien de la Iglesia; nos pareció que debiamos comunicár con él este caso de tanta importancia, con vos muy secretamente, y no con otra persona; para sabér sobre él su parecer. Que ya él debe sabér, quanto amor y acatamiento tenemos nosotros a nuestro muy Santo Padre, y quanto deseamos fazer por él:—y a esto somos obligados nosotros mas que otros principes, no solamente por ser el Vicario de Ihu. Xstó., Nuestro Señor, mas por ser nuestro natural.²

Y del amor que le tenemos; y de lo que por él deseamos fazer; buen

² Alejandro VI. era Valenciano.

testigo son nuestras obras passadas hechas en su favór, y señaladamente todo lo pasado en la guerra, que fué principalmente por la Iglesia, y por su defensión dél :—y desto viene, que muchos nos dizen, que teniendonos el Papa por tan favorables y tan ciertos para las cosas suyas, se atreve á fazer cosas muy exorbitantes, que de otra manera no las faria :—que agora de nuevo nos dicen, que se pone en querér sacar de la Iglesia al Cardenal de Valencia, siendo de Evanjelio, para hazerlo grande con lo ajeno, y con lo de la Iglesia ; y viniendo esto sobre la manera que tuvo en fazerlo Cardenal, y sobre haber quitado á Benavento la Iglesia, para darla el Duque de Gandia : y viendo que vende todos los beneficios que vacan, para comprár estado para su fijo : y estorba que no se hagan las reformaciones, de los monesterios de nuestros reynos ; y mucho menos la reformación de la Iglesia de Roma, en obras, tan contrarias, á lo que debe fazer el Vicario de Ihu. Xsto. y tan escandalosas, y de tan mal enjemplo para todos los cristianos.

Nos pesa mucho, y lo sentimos en el alma, y por lo de Dios y por el bien y honra de la Iglesia ; y ahún por lo que toca á Su San.^t deseamos mucho el remedio dello ; y que fuese sin daño, y sin inconveniente de la persona de Su Santidad. Porque si no se remediase, podria trahér mucho daño a toda la universal Iglesia.

Y que nosotros, ya habemos procurado secretamente el remedio déllo con Su San.^t ; y habemos fecho sobrello todas las dilijencias que habemos podido : y vemos que no solamente no han aprovechado ; mas parece que quanto mas va, mas crecen los excessos y desórdenes de Su Santidad. Y son en tanto grado, que para escusár el mayor daño, que déllo se podria seguir á la Iglesia, se requiere presta provisión. Y que ya sabe que procurár el remedio de esto, toca á los principes cristianos, á quien mas poder dió Dios en la tierra. Que procurarlo por via de concilio, no nos parece bien ; assi por el escándalo y cisma, que déllo se podria seguir en la Iglesia ; como por el daño que se podria seguir á la persona de Su Santidad. Mas parécenos que lo debemos procurár con amonestaciones y suplicaciones, enviando todos, nuestros embajadores sobrello á Su Santidad.

Que aunque nuestras suplicaciones no hayan fasta aqui aprovechado en ello ; creemos que viendo Su San.^t que nos juntamos para ello algunos Principes cristianos ; de miedo, verná á fazer lo que debe. Que para esto nos seguirán algunos Reyes y por que creemos que él, como católico Principe, zelador del servicio de Dios, y del bien y honra de la Iglesia, querrá entender en esto con buena voluntad ; le rogamos afectuosamente, que assi lo quiera fazer : y quiera enviár sobre ello sus embajadores á Roma, para que ellos y los nuestros, y los de los Principes, que para esto se juntarán con nosotros, con amonestaciones, y suplicaciones trabaen de remediár esto con Su San.^t.

Que nuestros embajadores seran las que propositarán el negocio y lo llevarán adelante, y se porman á las afrentas que sobrello se hubieren dé fazer.

Que, los suyos, no es menester sino que se conformen con los nuestros, y con los otros que para ello se conformaren, y sigan lo mismo que ellos.

Y desta manera esperamos en Dios que se podria aquello remediár ; y escusarse los males que dello se podrian seguir á la Iglesia no se faziendo.

Si hay paz con Francia ;
 Si no hay paz ni guerra ;
 Si hubiesse guerra,
 Si fuesse lo del Archiduque.¹

¹ Parece preguntár, qué haria el Rey de Inglaterra en uno de estos cuatro casos.

CHAPTER II.

ALFONSO DE VALDÉS was introduced into the Chancery as Latin Secretary to the Emperor in the beginning of the year 1520. Many concurring circumstances kept the attention of Charles's councillors absorbed in the affairs of Germany, where his presence was required for his formal coronation as King of the Romans.¹ The heresy of Luther was now making rapid advances, which demanded his most serious consideration, as did also the growing alliance between Francis I. and Henry VIII.

Charles and Francis had entered the lists as candidates for the Imperial dignity, but conducted their rivalry with courteous professions of regard for each other. "We both court the same mistress," said Francis, with his usual vivacity; "each ought to urge his suit with all the address of which he is master; the most fortunate will prevail, and the other must rest contented." The preference, however, given to Charles in the sight of all Europe mortified Francis, and inspired him with all the passions natural to disappointed ambition. To this was owing the personal antagonism which existed between the two monarchs during the remainder of their reigns, which was aggravated by the difference between their natural disposition. At this juncture the chief attention both of Charles and Francis was directed to gain over the King of England, from whom each of them expected effectual assistance.

We must not judge the administration of Henry VIII. wholly by the defects of his own character; many of his impolitic proceedings are to be attributed to the passions

¹ The Emperors of Germany, in order that their eldest sons might be chosen their successors in their own lifetime, politically obtained them the title of King of the Romans.—Haydn's "Dictionary of Dates," ed. 1861.

The Emperor Maximilian, Charles's grandfather, had discovered before his death great solicitude to preserve the imperial dignity in the Austrian family, and to procure the King of Spain to be chosen his successor. But he himself having never been crowned by the Pope—a ceremony deemed essential in that age—was considered only as Emperor

elect. Though historians have not attended to that distinction, neither the Italian nor German Chancery bestowed any other title upon him than that of King of the Romans; and no example occurring in history of any persons being chosen a successor to a king of the Romans, the Germans, always tenacious of their forms, and unwilling to confer upon Charles an office for which their constitution knew no name, obstinately refused to gratify Maximilian in that point. By his death, this difficulty was at once removed.—Robertson's "Charles V.," vol. i. p. 384, ed. 1827.

and insatiable ambition of Cardinal Wolsey. Great talents, and of very different kinds, fitted the Cardinal to sustain the two opposite characters of an ecclesiastic and a courtier. His judgment, his industry, his acquaintance with the state of the kingdom, his extensive knowledge of the policy and interests of foreign courts, qualified him for the uncontrolled direction of affairs. His elegant manners, gay conversation, insinuating address, love of magnificence, and proficiency in those branches of literature of which Henry was fond, gained him the confidence and affection of the young monarch. Wolsey, far from employing his vast and almost regal power to promote either the true interests of the nation or the real greatness of his master, was at the same time rapacious and profuse. Boundless in his ambition, he aspired after new honours with an eagerness unabated by his former success. Rendered presumptuous by his rapid elevation as well as by the influence he had gained over a prince who scarcely submitted to advice from any other person, he displayed in his whole conduct the most overbearing pride and haughtiness. To these passions he sacrificed every other consideration; and whoever endeavoured to obtain his favour, or that of his master, found it necessary to soothe and to gratify them. This character was quickly perceived and well-understood by the Spanish statesmen, whose national disposition tended too much in the same direction.

Charles soon became aware of the growing friendship of Francis and Henry, and regarded it with the utmost jealousy and concern. His near affinity to the King of England, through his relationship to Catherine of Arragon, as well as the traditionary policy of his grandfather, Ferdinand, gave him a title to his friendship. Early after his accession to the throne of Castille, he strove to ingratiate himself with Wolsey, by settling on him a pension of 3,000 livres. His chief anxiety at this time was to prevent the intended interview of Francis and Henry; but in this he was unsuccessful.

Charles sailed from Coruña, May 26, 1520, steering his course directly towards England; he landed at Dover, relying upon Henry's generosity for his own safety. Wolsey was well acquainted with the Emperor's intention in this unexpected visit, which had in fact been concerted between them. Henry, who was then at Canterbury, on his way to France for the interview of the Cloth of Gold, immediately dispatched Wolsey to Dover to welcome the Emperor. Highly pleased with an event so soothing to his vanity, Wolsey

hastened to receive him with suitable respect, and Charles granted the Cardinal, whom he called his *most dear friend*, an additional pension of 7,000 ducats.

Time was of the utmost consequence to Charles. He stayed only four days in England, and during that short space he had the ability to impress Henry favourably, and to detach Wolsey entirely from the interests of Francis. The papal dignity had long been the object of Wolsey's aspirations; and Francis, as the most effectual method of securing his friendship, had promised to support his pretensions on the first vacancy. But as the Emperor's influence in the College of Cardinals was greatly superior to that of the French king, Wolsey grasped eagerly at the offer which Charles made him of exerting it on his behalf; he therefore entered with warmth into all the Emperor's schemes. Charles passed onward to the Netherlands, and, notwithstanding his fondness for the place of his nativity, made but a short stay there to receive the homage and congratulations of his countrymen; he then hastened for his coronation to Aix-la-Chapelle, the city in which, since Charlemagne, the German Emperors have been successively crowned. There, in presence of an assembly more numerous, august, and splendid than had ever been convened there upon any previous occasion, the crown of Charlemagne was placed upon his head on the 23rd of October, 1520.¹

Only two days afterwards, while the gorgeous ceremony was yet glowing in his remembrance, Alfonso Valdés, who had accompanied the Emperor from Brussels to Aix-la-Chapelle, sent a description of it to his friend and master, Pedro Martir de Angleria. On the 20th of November, Angleria transmitted a copy of it to his pupils, the Marquises de Velez, and Mondejar, with whom he corresponded on terms of confidential friendship. "Listen," says he, "to a charming narrative. I send you the copy of a letter from [Alfonso] Valdés, in which he describes the whole order of the Emperor's coronation."²

The earliest correspondence, however, of Alfonso de Valdés with Angleria dates from his arrival at Brussels. It was upon the state of society in Germany, agitated by the religious revolution stirred up by Luther—a movement that had just lately commenced. It was of importance that Angleria, who now chiefly directed the internal policy of Spain, should be perfectly informed respecting the germs of those stupendous events which the sagacity of Alfonso

¹ See Robertson's "History of Charles V.," vol. ii. book 2, ed. 1827.

² See the letter at the close of this chapter.

Valdés, at this early period of his official service, clearly foresaw would follow. At the same time, this correspondence shows that Valdés himself, while he was one of the most ardent reformers of the Papacy itself, was no favourer of Luther.

From Pedro Martir de Angleria to his Pupils, the Marquises de Velez, and Mondejar, 18th September, 1520.

The events that transpire in these kingdoms are not hidden from you. Of those which occur abroad, and which are come to our knowledge, read the fearful occurrence which Alfonso Valdés, a youth of great promise, describes to me with no less fidelity than elegance. You already know his father, Fernando de Valdés, the Regidor de Cuenca.

Alfonso Valdés greets his friend Pedro Martir.

That which you would fain learn from me, as to the origin and progress of the Lutheran sect, which has recently sprung up among the Germans, I am now about to write to you, if without elegance, at least with accuracy, relating things conscientiously, as I have heard them from persons worthy of credit.

I think you are already aware that Pope Julius II. had begun to erect, in the city of Rome, a temple dedicated to the Prince of the Apostles, at incredible expense, and exceeding in the vastness of its proportions all similar structures, with good reason thinking it indecorous that the Prince of the Apostles should be meanly lodged, particularly since men, from religious motives, repair thither from all parts of the world. And this greatest and most magnanimous of men would have finished the mighty work, had he not been taken off by death during the process of its erection.

Leo X. succeeded him, who, not having adequate funds to defray the large outlay, sent throughout Christendom the amplest absolutions, or pardons, commonly called indulgences, for those who should contribute offerings for the erection of the temple; he thought that by such means he should clear an immense sum of money, getting it especially from the Germans, whose veneration for the Church of Rome was singularly loyal. But as there is nothing firm and stable in human affairs—nothing that is not destroyed either by the damage brought by time or by the malice of men—so it is a fact, that these indulgences have brought it to pass that Germany, which surpasses in religion every other Christian nation, may now actually see itself left behind by them all.

For as a certain Dominican was preaching in Wittemberg, a city in Saxony, and urging the people to purchase these pontifical indulgences, from which this friar himself netted no mean profits, an Augustinian monk, of the name of Martin Luther, and the author of this tragedy, came forward, possibly moved by envy of the Dominican, and published certain printed propositions, in which he affirmed that the Dominican attributed to his indulgences effects much greater than the Roman Pontiff either did or could concede. The Dominican having read the propositions, was inflamed with wrath against the Augustinian, and the dispute between the monks was exasperated both by injurious expressions and by arguments—the one defending his sermon, and the other defending his propositions; so that the Augustinian, with the characteristic audacity of the wicked, began to disparage the papal indulgences, and to say that they had been devised, not for the welfare of the Christian body, but to satisfy sacerdotal avarice; and from this point the monk proceeded to discuss the powers of the Roman Pontiff.

Here you have the first scene of this tragedy, which we owe to monkish

animosity ; for since the Augustinian envies the Dominican, and the Dominican, in his turn, the Augustinian, and both of them the Franciscan, what else shall we expect but the gravest dissensions ? And now let us come to scene the second.

Frederick the Duke of Saxony, and Albert the Cardinal Archbishop of Mentz, were, as Electors, colleagues in the election of Roman Emperors ; the former, who was not on the best of terms with the latter, had heard that Albert made much money by these indulgences, the Prelate and the Pope having agreed to share the money thus obtained between them. In the meanwhile, the Duke, who sought an opportunity to deprive the Archbishop of these gains, did not let slip that presented by an audacious monk, who, ready for any bad action, had stood forward to declare war against the pontifical indulgences. Accordingly, the Duke seized upon all the money in the hands of the so-called commissaries, which had been collected in his duchy, saying that "*he intended to appoint a man, one of his subjects, in Rome, to present that money to the fabric of St. Peter, who should, at the same time, see to the proper expenditure of the other sums which had been collected for that purpose in other parts of Germany.*" But the Pontiff, on whom it devolves to guard the liberties of the Church, and not to permit profane princes to intermeddle in things solely within the province of the Roman Pontiff, warned the Duke once and again, both by letters couched in the most affectionate terms, and by nuncios specially sent to Germany, that he should not act so injuriously to the Apostolic seat, but should refund the confiscated moneys, which the Duke obstinately refused to do ; whereupon the Pontiff, going to the other extreme, declared him excommunicated. Then the Augustinian, having gained the Duke's favour, assured him, with great hardihood, that such a sentence was invalid, because iniquitous, for the Roman Pontiff could excommunicate no one unjustly ; and he began, through printed circulars, which were spread with facility and rapidity throughout all Germany, to publish many and grave things against the Roman Pontiff and the Romanists. Luther, moreover, exhorted the Duke of Saxony not to be driven, by dread of the Papal anathema, from the determination he had once formed. Furthermore, he declared that the temper of the Germans was getting irritated by long contemplation of the worse than profane habits of the Romanists, and that they had secretly begun to devise how to loosen and shake off the yoke of the Roman Pontiff, which was accomplished when Luther's writings were first published, and received with general admiration and applause. Then the Germans, showing their contempt for the Romanists, evinced at the same time their intense desire, and they demanded it too, that there should be convened a General Council of all Christians, in which, those things being condemned, against which Luther had written, better order might be established in the Church. Would to God that this had been realized ! In the meanwhile, the Pontiff obstinately guards his rights, and fears lest Christians should hold a meeting ; for (to speak freely) his particular interests, which might possibly be endangered by a General Council, weigh more with him than the welfare of Christendom. He is also anxious to have Luther's writings suppressed without discussion, and has sent a Legate à latere to Maximilian, to procure, amongst other things, that silence be imposed on Luther by the Emperor's authority and that of the whole Roman empire. They then convened a General Diet, an Imperial Parliament, at Augsburg, a celebrated city of Germany, where Luther appeared, having been summoned by an Imperial decree, and where he defended his writings with great power ; whereupon Cajetan had to enter upon the arena. Cajetan—for such was the Legate's name—alleged that "a monk ought not to have a hearing, who had written so many blasphemies against the Roman Pontiff." And the Estates of the Empire,

in their turn, declared "that it was an iniquitous thing to condemn a man unheard, or without having previously convinced him, and compelled him to retract those very writings which he declared himself ready to defend. That if this Cajetan (a man, as you know, profoundly versed in polemics) could convince Luther, they were ready (both the Emperor and the Estates of the Empire) to pass sentence on him." Thus Cajetan, seeing that he should make no progress unless he combated Luther face to face, which he had attempted once, but came off unsuccessfully, departed, leaving the affair unsettled. Luther was dismissed with greater glory than that with which he had been received—with a victor's joy. Alas! that human relations are so prone to ill: relying upon the Duke of Saxony's protection, he wrote and published, with fresh vigour, new dogmas opposed to the Apostolic institutions.

The Pope, seeing that he could, neither by caresses nor by warnings, cause the deserved punishment to be imposed upon the blasphemous monk, in order that he might not diffuse the poison which he scattered on every side with impunity, and that all might flee the man declared a heretic and schismatic, launched a most severe Bull, as they call it, against Luther and Luther's partisans.

Luther, much more irritated than dismayed by this proceeding (oh, shame!), proclaimed the Pontiff himself a heretic and schismatic, and issued a pamphlet, entitled "*De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiæ*," "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church," in which—Eternal God!—he combats the decrees and statutes of councils and popes, and with what artifices! In it he affirms that John Huss was iniquitously condemned by the Council of Constance, and that he, Luther, would defend as orthodox all those propositions of his which had been condemned. And not content with this, he publicly burnt all the books on Roman law that he could find in Wittenberg, saying that "they perverted and contaminated the Christian religion, and that for this reason they ought to be destroyed."

The report of these events, spread throughout all Germany, excites to such an extent the minds of the Germans against the Apostolic seat, that if the prudence and piety of the Pontiff, or the good star of our Emperor, in conjunction with a General Council, do not come to the relief of these evils, I fear, and I do very much fear, that this evil will spread so widely as to be absolutely incurable. It has appeared to me to be my duty to describe these things, writing them here on the spot, and I hope by so doing to gratify you. Farewell.—Brussels, 31st August, 1520.

VALDÉS.

Angleria, in transmitting the above, adds, by way of postscript:—

Enough of the disloyal monk, in refutation of whom many grave and learned men have written much that you can readily get and read. Farewell.—Valladolid, 18th Sept., 1520.

ANGLERIA.¹

When Charles arrived in Germany, in 1520, the opinions of Luther had made only a partial progress. No secular prince had embraced them. No change in the established forms of worship had been introduced. No encroachments had been made upon the possessions or jurisdiction of the clergy. A deep impression, however, had been made upon the minds of the people. Their reverence for ancient institutions and doctrine was shaken, and Valdés sagaciously

¹ Letter DCLXXXIX. [page 380 of Elzevir, edit. 1670].

perceived and prophesied that the materials already scattered would kindle into combustion, and soon spread over all Germany. Students crowded from every province of the empire to Wittenberg; under Luther himself, Melancthon, and other masters then reckoned eminent, they imbibed opinions which, on their return, they propagated among their countrymen. Had Leo checked the vices and excesses of the friars—had he restrained the discussion of controverted points, such as indulgences—had he been careful not to risk the credit of the Church by defining its Articles, Luther might have stopped short at his first exposure of abuses, and not been provoked to self-defence, and the controversy might probably have been confined to the gladiatorial displays of the schools. Luther was exasperated by an improper exertion of authority on the part of Rome, but not restrained. Leo, by an exercise of lenity, gave time for his opinions to spread. The cause of Luther made rapid progress, arising from the nature of the Church-reforms demanded, and not less so from the juncture at which they were proposed.

The Emperor's appearance in Germany at this period gave him an opportunity to interfere for its religious pacification. The Diet at Worms was assembled to regulate the internal police of the empire, to define the jurisdiction of the Imperial Chamber, and to fix the forms of its proceedings. A Council of Regency was appointed to assist Ferdinand in the government of the empire during the absence of the Emperor. The state of religion was then taken into consideration. Luther was summoned under the Emperor's safe-conduct to appear before the Diet. From the scene of the Diet, on the 13th of May, 1521, Alfonso de Valdés addressed the following letter to Pedro Martir de Angleria on this subject. Angleria sent a copy as a portion of his letter to his pupil, the Marquis de los Velez.

PEDRO MARTIR ANGLERIA TO THE MARQUIS DE LOS VELEZ.

After notifying to him the tumults in Italy, and the ravages of the plague in Germany, and in the members of the Emperor's court itself, he writes:—

Listen to something else of greater importance. The Emperor has given letters of safe-conduct to the heretic Luther. He came to the court well attended. If princes favour those who promote novelties, such persons will never want followers, provided there be a glimpse of hope suggested by ambition or avarice.

Alas for the Emperor's proceedings in this affair; they are thus decried by Valdés:—

Alfonso Valdés greets his friend Pedro Martir.

From Brussels I have already written to you as to the origin of the Lutheran party and its progress up to that time. I will describe in this letter the events which have since transpired. The Electors and other Orders of the Roman Empire, having been convened at this city of Worms, the Emperor, desirous that this affair of Luther's should be treated before every other, proposed that this man's folly should be repressed by the authority of the whole Roman Empire, that others might be prevented from becoming his followers. Well, notwithstanding that he obtained this only by persevering effort, nothing more resulted from it, but that Luther was summoned, under a safe-conduct and the Emperor's pledged faith, that he would hear him prior to any adverse decision against him. For they said that it was iniquitous to condemn a man without hearing him, and that the Emperor's dignity and piety were engaged that, should Luther retract his errors, those other subjects should be recognized, upon which he had written so learnedly and in such a Christian manner, and that Germany should, by the authority of the Emperor, be relieved from the burdens and tyrannies of the Apostolic seat. The Emperor, finding his power thus restricted, commanded that Luther should come and appear in person before him and the other Orders of the Empire. Being asked there "If those were his books which were everywhere published under his name, and whether he would retract what he had written in them, or not?"—he replied, "that all of them were his books," the titles of which at his request they read, "and that he was unwilling to deny them, and that he never had denied them. But that as to the second part of the question which had been addressed to him, to know whether he was willing to retract what he had written, he begged the Emperor would grant him time to deliberate;" which was conceded him by the Emperor until the following day. Upon that very day, the Emperor, and the Electors of the Roman Empire, and the other Orders being present, Martin Luther being commanded to appear to answer to the second part of the question which had been addressed to him on the previous day, after a long and diffuse oration in Latin and in German, Luther said that "he could retract nothing contained in his books, unless it were proved by the New Testament, or by the testimony of the Old Testament, that he had erred and written impiously." And when he was again pressed that he should respond without paraphrase with a categorical Yes or No, "*whether he would abide by the decrees and constitutions of the Councils?*" he replied that "*he would retract nothing, nor could he abide by the decrees of the Councils, since those Councils occasionally contradicted each other.*" Whereupon the Emperor commanded him to retire, and having dissolved the assembly for that day, summoned the Prince Electors for the following day, and showed them a rescript, in his own handwriting, in which he declared what seemed to him right to be done in this affair. He asked them if they were all of his opinion, to wit that the severest edicts should be issued against Luther and the Lutherans, and that the books of that madman should be burned? But the Electors, and other Orders of the Empire, some of whom had imbibed Luther's poison, and others who declared that Luther should by no means be condemned before the Germans were liberated from the burdens and tyrannies of the Romanists, as they called them, begged the Emperor, with great importunity, that at the least Luther should be privately admonished that he should retract what he had written against the constitutions of the Church. As the Emperor conceded this point to them, they during three days admonished the hardened Luther, but in vain; and seeing their utter failure, they subscribed the Emperor's decree. This done, the Emperor, being unwilling to break his word publicly pledged for his safe conduct, warned Luther by a published document, "that he should leave Worms on

the day following, and that he should flee, within twenty days, to some place that might serve him as a refuge." Luther obeyed. The Emperor, then, as well by his own authority as by that of the Prince Electors, and of all the Orders of the Roman Empire, having published an awful edict against Luther and the Lutherans, and against his writings, commanded that all the writings of Luther, that could be found should be solemnly burned, and that, following his example, the same should be done throughout the other cities of Germany.

Here you have, as *some imagine, the end of this Tragedy, but I am persuaded that it is not the end, but the beginning of it.* For I perceive that the minds of the Germans are greatly exasperated against the Romish See; and they do not seem to attach great importance to the Emperor's edicts; for since their publication Luther's books are sold with impunity at every step and corner of the streets and market-places. From this you may easily conjecture what will happen when the Emperor leaves.

This evil might have been cured, with the greatest advantage to the Christian republic, had not the Pontiff refused a General Council, had he preferred the public weal to his own private interests. But whilst he obstinately stands upon his right, though possibly from a pious motive, or stopping his ears, he is anxious that Luther be condemned and burned at the stake, I see the whole Christian republic hurried to destruction, unless God Himself succour us. Farewell.

Worms, the 13th May, A.D. 1521.

VALDÉS.¹

We have already shown the training which the young Valdés' had received from the *Maestro de los Caballeros*, Pedro Martir Angleria. It had given their minds the *direction* towards reform, and the liberal principles he had indoctrinated them with would, as a natural consequence, lead them into union with eminent men of similar views, especially as regards the improvement of morals and manners.

Erasmus, the man of greatest learning and estimation of his age, as early as the year 1521, had expressed himself in his letters, in the strongest terms, against the iniquity of the Papacy and the necessity of reformation. The Lutherans naturally rejoiced in him as a partisan of their cause, but the thorough-going work which their leaders were inclined to make alarmed and disgusted him. The bias of his disposition was clearly expressed in his own words: "There is a certain *pious CRAFT*, an innocent *time-serving*, which however we must so use as not to betray the cause of religion." And again: "If the behaviour of those who govern human affairs shocks and grieves us, I believe we must leave them to the Lord. If they command things reasonable, it is just to obey them; if they require things unreasonable, it is an act of piety to suffer it, lest something worse ensue. If the present age is not capable of receiving the whole Gospel of Jesus Christ, yet it is something to preach it in part, and

¹ Letter DCCXXII. p. 411 of the Elzevir ed.

as far as we can. Above all things we should avoid a schism, which is of pernicious consequence to all good men."¹ This short passage serves as a key to interpret the conduct of Erasmus throughout his whole life. Erasmus had been stimulated by Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, to write against Luther. In 1523 (?) he produced his "Hyperaspistes" in answer to Luther's "De Libero Arbitrio."

Erasmus was patronized in Spain, as a defender of the Catholic Church, by the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries, Don Alonzo Fonseca, elevated, in the year 1521, to the archbishopric of Toledo, primate of Spain, and Don Alonzo Manrique, Cardinal Archbishop of Seville, Inquisitor General, as well as by the Emperor himself. In 1517 he received the appointment of Honorary Councillor for Brabant to Charles, then Archduke, with an annual pension of 200 florins, which it appears, however, was but irregularly paid. To Alfonso Valdés he was mainly indebted for the combined favour of these friends, and for the payment of his pension which the Latin Secretary facilitated with the Chancellor Gattinara. The few letters we have, written by Erasmus to him, abound in acknowledgments of his obligations and gratitude; the earliest is as follows:

ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM TO ALFONSO VALDÉS.

After some accidental delay, I received with other letters those of His Majesty the Emperor, couched in very loving terms, and that, no less kind, of Mercurino de Gattinara, whose counsel, both trusty and prudent, it will be safe to follow. The extraordinary favour and love which you, most worthy young man, evince towards me, and of which I previously had so much experience, is again confirmed by such proofs, that, did my ability correspond with my desire, you should know that these favours had not been shown to an ungrateful man. I cannot now enlarge upon this subject. I affectionately request you to thank all my patrons in my name yourself. Farewell.

ERASMUS.

Dated Basle, 31st March, 1527.

In the same year Alfonso writes to Erasmus:—

On the 28th August your letters at length arrived, as well those you sent for the Emperor and the Chancellor Gattinara, and those for the two Archbishops [Fonseca and Manrique], as also those which you wrote to me and thy other friends. The Emperor read your *Latin* letter, but in *Spanish*, translated by me, and will answer it by the first post.

LETTER FROM ERASMUS TO THE EMPEROR, TRANSLATED FROM LATIN INTO SPANISH. 2ND SEPTEMBER, 1527.

Just as I confess, most invincible Emperor, my great obligation to your Majesty, as well individually on my own behalf, as generally on

¹ Jortin's "Life of Erasmus," vol. i. p. 260.

behalf of the schools, in that you have so benignly deigned to uphold me with your favour ; so likewise I greatly desire, that that might which conquers and subdues powerful kings, may with equal authority and success put down the seditious of certain bad men. Confiding in the protection of the Pontiffs and Princes, and principally in that of your Majesty, I have, to my great personal peril, provoked the whole Lutheran sect against me, and would to God that it were less widely spread ! And should any require evidence of this fact, Luther's work, "*De Servo Arbitrio*," "*The Enslaved Will*," which he wrote against me, and the two works which I have published in reply, will prove it. Now that the affair with Luther begins to settle down, and this partly by my labours and at my peril, there are persons, who, instigated by their private interests, but pretending religious motives, disturb Spain, from various causes the happiest of countries, by disorderly seditious. Assuredly, I fight for Christ, and not in the interest of men. We have frequently seen very heavy storms arise which began thus ; indeed this affair of Luther's sprung from more slender causes. But as for myself, I shall never cease to defend Christian piety whilst life lasts. Your Majesty will ever hold it to be your duty steadily to favour those who defend God's Church with sincerity and energy. I fight under the banners of Jesus Christ and your Majesty, and under them will I die. But I shall die the more cheerfully if I first see peace and concord restored, both to the Church and to Christendom, by your power, wisdom, and tact, which I never cease to supplicate of Jesus Christ the Almighty, that He may grant us through your Majesty's instrumentality. May He be pleased to guard your Majesty, and to heighten your prosperity still more.

ERASMUS.

Dated Basle, 2nd September, 1527.

Addressed, To the most invincible monarch Charles, Catholic King and elect Emperor of the Romans.

The Emperor's reply to Erasmus, 13th December, 1527:—

Charles, by the Divine clemency, Emperor elect of the Romans, Augustus, &c.

Honoured, devout, and beloved, your letter gave us pleasure of two kinds : the one through its being yours, and the other because we learned by it that the insanity of the Lutherans is on the wane. You are indebted for the former to the singular goodwill which we entertain towards you ; and as to the latter, not only we ourselves, but the whole Christian world, is indebted to you, for that you alone have achieved that which Emperors, Pontiffs, and Princes, aided by so many of the most learned men, have hitherto failed to attain. Whence we see, and with the greatest delight, that you cannot fail of obtaining immortal honour amongst men, and eternal glory amongst those in bliss above, and from our soul we congratulate you upon this your felicity. It remains for you to put forth every energy in that field you have so successfully occupied, in order finally to subdue it. Nor will our assistance and favour ever cease to further your most pious efforts. But we have read with much pain, what you write concerning those things which have transpired amongst us with reference to your works, for it appears that you somehow distrust our love and goodwill towards you, as though any resolution adverse to Erasmus, whose Christian tone of mind we have so well proved, should be passed in our presence. For there is no danger from that inquisition which we have authorized with reference to your books, in which should any human lapse be found, you being lovingly notified, may either correct it, or so explain

it, as to leave no scandal to the weak ; and thus you will immortalize your works, and stop the mouths of your detractors. But if indeed there should be nothing worthy of reprehension, you see what glory awaits both you and your works. We wish you therefore to keep up your spirits, and to rest assured that your honour and reputation will never cease to give us the greatest concern. As to the maintenance of the public peace, forasmuch as we have hitherto done all that lay in our power, there is no reason why any one should call it in question. What we may have to do now, or what hereafter, we prefer to declare by deeds. This one thing we do ask of you, that you in your prayers to Christ, the best and the greatest, ever commend all our actions to Him. Farewell. From our city of Burgos, the 13th of December, 1527, and of our empire the 9th.

CHARLES.

Addressed To the honoured, devout, and of us beloved Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, our Councillor.

ALFONSO VALDÉS.

The Spanish friends of Erasmus, who certainly belonged to the *party* of moral progress, although one of them occupied the high position of Inquisitor-General, seem to have promoted, by something like a concerted scheme, the translation and spread of his treatises in Spain, in the common language of the people. These treatises appear to have followed each other in successive order, and were printed in a handsome style, and with the insignia of authority, by the highest literary press of the country.¹ It is true there had been in Spain, from the year 1521, some few scholastic theologians, ignorant of Hebrew and Greek languages, who were opposed to him,—Diego Lopez de Zuñiga, and Sancho de Carranza, Professors of Theology in the University of Alcalá de Henares ; the Friar Luis de Carvajal, a Franciscan ; Edward Lee,² the ambassador of the King of England ; and Pedro de Victoria, a theologian of Salamanca.

¹ The works of Erasmus, in Spanish, of which we have knowledge as still existing, are the following :—

Tractado de como se queixa la Paz. Compuesto por Erasmo varon doctissimo. Y sacado de latin en romance por el arcediano de Seuilla don Diego Lopez. Seuilla por Jacobo Cromberger. Aleman. ... 4to 1520
 * * For a notice of the translator, see Pellicer's "Ensayo de Traductores," pp. 45—51.
 Enquiridío o manual del Cavallero Christiano, etc. impresso en la Universidad de Alcalá de Henares. De següdo Impressiõ. 4to 1527
 Tractado de como se queixa la Paz. [Segundo Impresion.] Alcalá

de Henares por Miguel de Eguia 4to 1529
 Exposicion y sermon sobre los Psalmos s.l. 4to 1531
 Colloquios de Erasmo ... s.l. 4to 1532
 La Lëgua de Erasmo ... s.l. 4to 1533
 Preparacion y aparejo para bien morir. Seuilla. 4to 1551
 All these were printed *by authority* in Spain. Some of them were afterwards printed in a smaller form at Antwerp.

² Edward Lee, a distinguished classic, but still more distinguished as an opponent of Erasmus, whose annotations on the Gospel of Matthew Lee denounced in a work of 2 vols. He was a zealous instrument of Henry VIII., and by him appointed Archbishop of York.

So long as the circulation of his writings had been confined to the editions in Latin, and consequently limited to the use of the learned, the ignorant fraternity of friars dissembled their hatred to his enlightened wit and satire against their corrupt lives and conduct; but when they were presented to the Spanish people in their own language, their exasperation broke out beyond restraint.

At the season of Lent, in the year 1527, a circumstance occurred in the city of Palencia which brought the whole question into discussion, in such a manner that it could not longer be deferred by the ecclesiastical authorities and the Inquisitor-General. An extant letter, written in Spanish, in 1526, by the hand of the Spanish translator of the "Enchiridion," Alfonso Fernandez, Archdeacon of Alcor, to Dr. Coronel, secretary of the Inquisitor General, Alfonso Manrique, the Archbishop of Seville, sufficiently explains the affair. Dr. Coronel transmitted the Archdeacon's autograph letter to Erasmus, and hence it is now found preserved at Leipzig, although addressed to a correspondent in Spain.

The letter runs thus:—

Very Reverend and most Noble Sir,

Since that Erasmus's ENCHIRIDION has been printed in *Spanish*, a work which you promoted much to your great merit, I have requested the printer at Alcala to send two well-bound copies, together with my letter, one to the Archbishop [of Seville] and the other to yourself. I believe this order has been executed. Now, it is well you should know that Father Juan de San Vincent, a Franciscan, resident in this city, a man of words rather than letters, has endeavoured to excite the people here, as he previously did on another occasion, that of the insurrection of the Comunidades; and publicly preaching upon the Feast of St. Antolin, when the clergy and people and the provincial tribunal met in the cathedral church, he uttered two thousand blasphemies against the *Enchiridion*, in stating that it contained a thousand heresies. And more than this, he drew forth a written Resolution from his bosom and attached it with pins to the pulpit-cloth. I believe that they will have already sent you a copy of it from Alcala, nevertheless I send one too, in order that you may see it. The next day I attended the schools where they argue, but no one came forward to discuss it, for they are all monks (that is to say, theologians who had graduated as Bachelors, Licentiates, and Doctors), and besides, the Resolution offered no distinct subject of discussion for them. Then he brought out a paper with as many as XXX articles which he had collected from the *Enchiridion*, and from an epistle of Erasmus usually appended to it; and from *Paraclesis* [a tract attached to his New Testament], and others. And indeed, as I hope to be saved, of all the thirty the Father did not understand ten; nor does Erasmus state that which provokes him, nay, in some places, he says the contrary. Therefore, to bring the matter to an end, I resolved to oppose him in person with sound arguments and without sophisms. And when all understood me, and heard what passed, and were informed of the Archbishop's carefulness evinced by his command to have the book examined, and saw

his "imprimatur" appended with his armorial bearings [on the reverse of the title] to the published book, &c.—then he left the theatre hooted at and ridiculed by all: tandem, ab omnibus exhibitus irrisusque, e theatro discessit; my cause being more aided by truth, than his by ill-breeding and slander. But he has not ceased to bark yet, nor does he desist from forcing his way into the houses of influential laymen, publicly exciting everybody against Erasmus, and secretly against the authority of the Archbishop, and of the Lords of the Council, concerning whom he has dared to say that they erred in their approval of the book and in their order to have it printed. True it is that as we all enjoy forbidden fruit, the Father has succeeded to such an extent, that those who had never heard of Erasmus before, are seen with his books constantly in their hands now, and nothing else is read but the "Enchiridion," since it has been thus condemned and defamed by the reverend father. Although I am here on the spot, this affair does not chiefly affect me; it concerns, beyond all, God and His Church, who is injured in the defamation of a doctrine calculated greatly to benefit all Christians; and it concerns the learned and pious author, a man who has so greatly promoted the Christian religion and all good letters; it likewise affects his Grace and the Lords of the Council, that a half idiot *fraterculus* has dared to condemn as a heretic one of whom the Protectors of the Church approve as a good man; it affects yourself no less, for it was upon your evidence and commendation that the book was approved of and printed. And assuredly, if this fellow shall calumniate the *Moria* (the praise of folly, the *Laus Morie*) of some of the youthful *Colloquies*, though this would have been great hardihood on his part, still it might have been borne; but to have spoken so vehemently against the *Enchiridion*, never before attacked by any one up to this day, (*nunquam usque hunc diem ab aliquo lacerato*) is unpardonable.

I write to ask you to apprise the Archbishop, and these Lords, in order that his Grace may order him to be chastised; so that at the least, *recantat palinodiam*, he may be made to retract in that very pulpit, and honourably reinstate those whom he has defamed. I think he will do our Lord good service in the repression of such idle babblers, so that true doctrine be not defamed and vilified. For the Lord's sake, pardon my bluntness and importunity. May our Lord preserve your Reverence as I desire.

From Palencia, the 10th of September, [1527.

ALFONSO FERNANDEZ, Archdeacon of Alcor.]¹

The "Enchiridion," in Spanish, was a book worthy to be read, not only for the value of its Christian doctrine,

¹ The original autograph of the letter from Alfonso Fernandez of Madrid, Archdeacon of Alcor, to Dr. (Luis Nuñez ?) Coronel, is, together with a Latin version of it, preserved in the library of the University of Leipzig. Dr. Edward Bœhmer, of Halle, in Saxony, made it known in a German review, in the year following that in which he reprinted the "CX. Considerations" in Italian. Dr. Bœhmer has printed the letter word for word, without variation, save the addition of that punctuation which was desirable to render its meaning more perspicuous. He furnishes notes upon the letter itself, its author, and Dr. Coronel, to whom it was written, and says that

there is written under the letter, but in a different handwriting, "The Archdeacon of Alcor to Dr. Coronel upon Erasmus;" he adds, that a more recent hand has embodied the date, 10th September, 1535, both in the Spanish letter and in the Latin copy of it. Dr. Bœhmer judiciously observes, the supposed mischief of such addition is corrected by comparing the dates of the editions of the "Enchiridion" in Spanish [1527] with the letters of Erasmus, Fernandez, and Coronel, on the subject. He further observes that the letter was written only a week after the Feast of St. Antolin, which ought to be A.D. 1526 [1527].

but for the excellence of its language as a translation into the vulgar tongue. Juan de Valdés, one of the best judges on this subject, some years later, in a discussion which he had at a country-house on the shore of the Bay of Naples with some of his friends upon the Spanish language, thus expresses his opinion of its merits:—His friend Marcio asks him, “What is the other translation from the Latin [besides Boëthius *De Consolatione*] which pleased you?” Valdés replies, “The *Enchiridion*, by Erasmus, which the Archdeacon of Alcor [Alfonso Fernandez] turned into Spanish, which I think might, in point of style, compete with the Latin.”¹ The beauty of the language doubtless aided the circulation, and the popular curiosity was further stimulated by the public opposition of the friars. To what degree this was carried, making some allowance for the exaggeration of the writer in compliment to Erasmus, and we may say indirectly to the translator himself, is well expressed in a letter from Fernandez to Erasmus, dated 27th November, 1527:—

To the most distinguished man Desiderius Erasmus, of Rotterdam, Alfonso Fernandez sends his cordial salutations.

Most excellent Erasmus: When the Emperor passed through Palencia last month, which was in October, I sent you two letters, the one by Valdés, and the other by Martin Transylvanus, in which I expressed my steadfast love and goodwill to you. I think you must have received them. I saw your letter to Coronel, of the 1st of September, which they handed to him whilst, as it happened, he was a guest under my roof. I read it over and over again, and with great pleasure. There was nothing in it from its very commencement that did not savour of Erasmus, nor was there anything in it that did not serve to manifest your piety and learning; but I especially noted the passages that affected me, where you say, “I do not know whether they who translate my books into Spanish do it from love of me; but this I do know, they excite much ill-will against me.” Up to this time I have seen no book of yours done into Spanish, save only the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, by myself, which all concur in saying has not been translated discreditably. This work has gained such applause, brought such credit to your name, and has proved so useful to our Christian people, that there is no other book of our time which may be compared with the ENCHIRIDION for the extent of its circulation, since it is to be found in the hands of all. There is scarcely an individual in the Court of the Emperor, an inhabitant of our cities, a member of our Churches or Convents, nay, nor even an hotel or country inn, that has not a copy of the ENCHIRIDION OF ERASMUS IN SPANISH. The Latin version was read previously by a few who understand the Latin language; but its full merit was not perfectly perceived even by these, but the Spanish is now read by all without distinction, and this short work has made the name of Erasmus a household word in circles where previously it was unknown and had been unheard.

¹ “Dialogo de la Lengua” (tenido azia el A. 1533).

Madrid Año de 1860, p. 178, which is the ed. I have used.

But enough of this. Now, for the love I bear you, I judge it right to suggest that you introduce into your little book, entitled the *Exomologesis*, at least some small compliment to auricular confession, and that you should commend it with somewhat more earnestness, in order that as the above-mentioned work, which is now agreeably received by all good and learned men, so with the suggested addition it may satisfy the unlearned who now speak evil of it. Farewell. You personally reflect honour on letters.

Palencia, 27 November, 1527. ERASMUS, I am, with much jealousy for your reputation,
ALFONSO FERNANDEZ, Archdeacon of Alcor.

Such being the notoriety thus given to the writings of Erasmus, and such the clamour of the friars in opposition to their circulation among the people in their own language, Don Alfonso Manrique, the Cardinal Archbishop of Seville and Inquisitor-General, could not do less than have them examined. But, as he was a friend of Erasmus, he sought to get men appointed as censors who as theologians were then reputed the wisest in Spain. Retaining the president's seat in the commission, he appointed the Archbishop of the Canary Islands, domiciled in the Peninsula, vice-president, and he assembled numerous theologians, who resided in various districts, summoning them by a circular letter, dated the 14th April, to meet on Ascension-day. Sandoval says that there were thirty-two convoked, but Llorente says: "I find only eleven worthy of notice—viz., Alonzo de Cordoba, D.D., an Augustine of the Sorbonne in Paris, a surrogate professor at Salamanca, the author of various works; Francisco de Victoria, a Dominican monk, a doctor of the Sorbonne, professor at Salamanca, author of various works, and brother of Pedro de Victoria, the opponent of Erasmus; Alfonso de Oropesa, professor at Salamanca, author of various works, and afterwards Inquisitor; Juan Martinez Silicco, a famous theologian of Salamanca, a scholar of the Upper College of St. Bartholomew, author of various works, and subsequently Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo; Pedro de Lerma, Doctor of the Sorbonne, author of various works, first Chancellor of the University of Alcalá, and afterwards professor at Paris, to which he returned in order to escape the dungeons of the Inquisition, persecuted by certain scholastic theologians, who did not know Hebrew or Greek; Peter Ciruelo, Doctor of the Sorbonne, scholar of the Upper College of St. Ildefonso of Alcalá, author of various works, a Prebendary of Segovia, and Canon-magistral of Salamanca; Alonzo Virues, a Benedictine monk, the author of various works, who came to be Bishop of the Canary Islands, much persecuted by the Inquisition, with reference to which he wrote that which will be

read when we treat of his case; Dionisio Vazquez, an Augustine friar, Doctor of the Sorbonne, professor at the University of Alcalá, chaplain to the Pope, and so humble that he declined the appointments of Archbishop of Mexico and of Bishop of Palencia; Nicholas Castillo, a Franciscan friar, author of a volume of sermons; Luis Nuñez Coronel, a scholar of the Montaigu College at Paris, professor at the Sorbonne, chaplain to Charles V., and, in the opinion of Erasmus, a consummate theologian—an opinion enunciated prior to this period, in his work, "A Paraphrase upon the Gospel of St. Matthew;" Miguel Carrasco, a Doctor of Alcalá, a scholar of the Upper College of San Ildefonso, at that time confessor of the Archbishop of Toledo; and Luis Cabeza de Vaca, formerly tutor to Charles V., and actually Bishop of the Canary Islands, Vice-president of the Junta, and successively Bishop of Salamanca and of Palencia, who, whilst in this diocese, declined his nomination as Archbishop of Santiago."¹ The following members of the commission were also personal friends of Alfonso Valdés, whom he himself consulted respecting the "Dialogo de Lactancio":—Dr. Coronel, Pedro de Lerma, Chancellor of the University of Alcalá, and Dr. Carrasco.

No exertion was spared to induce the Pope to silence the clamour of the friars against Erasmus. The Grand Chancellor, Gattinara, in all likelihood by the hand of Alfonso Valdés, wrote to Juan Perez,² the Emperor's Chargé d'Affaires at Rome, to procure a brief from the Pope for this purpose. In a dispatch, dated the 26th of June, 1527, Juan Perez writes:—

I asked the Pope for a brief to the Archbishop of Seville [Don Alonzo Manrique, Cardinal Inquisitor-General] that should impose silence on

¹ Llorente's "Historia de la Inquisición," vol. iii. chap. xiii. art. i. pp. 5-9. Ed. Barcelona, 1835.

² Juan Perez de Pineda was an Andalusian, born about the year 1500, at Montilla, a town famous for its wines. He was secretary to the Spanish embassy at Rome in 1527, residing there during the memorable sack of the city. He had to ransom himself from the soldiery. Returning to his country, he was placed over the College of Doctrine at Seville, an endowed school for the education of the nobility. It is conjectured that he left Spain about the year 1551, and went to Geneva, where, in 1556 and 1557, he printed a Spanish Catechism, a translation of the New Testament, and the Psalms; he also printed there the Epistle to the Romans and the First of Corinthians, with

commentaries by Juan de Valdés, using the author's own MS. All the above works bear the imprint of *Venecia*. Beza, in his "Icones," praises him for his numerous writings. From Geneva he removed to Basle. When Casiodoro de Reyna was printing his translation of the Bible there—1567-9—falling ill of fever, he owed his life, as he says, under Providence, to his countryman, Juan Perez, who received him, his wife, and four children, into his own house, and nursed him into health, enabling him to finish the labour upon which his heart was set. Juan Perez removed later in life to Montargis, where he died at an advanced age. McCrie, "History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain." "Epistola Consolatoria," by Juan Perez. Notice prefixed, ed. 1848.

those who attacked the works of Erasmus ; for the Grand Chancellor, Mercurio de Gattinara, had written to me to do so at the time of his departure, and his Holiness instructed me that I should ask it by form of a memorial to Cardinal Santicuatro, which I did. I shall press for it, and if the brief be obtained, I shall send it to Secretary [Alonzo] Valdés, to whom the Grand Chancellor desired that I should transmit it.

And in another letter of the 1st of August in the same year, 1527, he writes :—

Herewith I transmit to the Secretary Valdés, the Brief which I advised your Majesty should be sent to the Archbishop of Seville, imposing silence, under pain of excommunication, upon those who should speak against the works of Erasmus, forasmuch as they contradict those of Luther.¹

The Board held its sittings during two months, and was then dissolved by the plague, before the censors had succeeded in arriving at that harmony of views necessary to concur in a judgment. Erasmus wrote various letters expressing his hopes that he should come well out of it.² The Council (of Inquisition) subsequently had the works called the “Colloquies,” the “Laus Moriæ,” and the “Paraphrase,” examined, which resulted in their prohibition. In more recent times some other works of Erasmus have been prohibited, and the Inquisition have decreed that all this author’s works *are to be read with caution*, which censure involved the supposition that they favoured Lutheranism, though he combats it frequently in the most direct manner. “Whose lot so unfortunate as mine?” he was wont to say. “The Lutherans persecute me as a Papist, and the Catholics as a Lutheran ! so that a dispassionate person can scarcely fail of truth which lies between them, but which the athletes on either side, in the heat of opposition, fail to see. I seek truth, and find it at times in Catholic propositions, and at times in those of the Protestants. Is a heretic one who is always in the wrong?” “What frenzy !” exclaimed his friend Juan Luis Vives, the Valencian. “We live in difficult times, in which we can neither speak nor be silent without danger.”

¹ Llorente, vol. iv. cap. xxi. art. ii. paragraph 6, pp. 82-83. Ed. Barcelona, 1835. ² Epist. DCCCXXXIV. DCCCCVII. DCCCXX.

LETTER OF ALFONSO DE VALDÉS TO PEDRO MARTIR ANGLERIA, ON THE
CORONATION OF CHARLES V. AS EMPEROR OF GERMANY.

[Referred to in page 29, and the note.]

Alfonso Valdés greets his friend Pedro Martir.

God grant it may be to our welfare and prosperity, our Emperor has just been crowned King of the Romans, with such pomp and with such universal applause, that you may believe me when I state that he alone has far outdone all the triumphal processions of the Romans. Were I to attempt to describe to you, in detail, the legions of soldiers and knights with whom the Emperor made his entry into Aix-la-Chapelle, the magnificent retinue of courtiers of all ranks, the armed German hosts, the sound of the clarions, the beating of drums and other warlike instruments, the decorations in gold, silver, and precious stones, and the personal carriage of the Emperor himself,—not only would it be difficult to me, but possibly wearisome to you. For which reason, I shall only communicate to you in this letter those things which I judge worthy of being known.

At first it was rumoured that the plague was ravaging Aix-la-Chapelle, where similar solemnities are wont to be celebrated, and on this account it was proposed to fix upon some other site for them. But the Emperor, like a brave spirit, making light of all suspicion of the plague, would not be crowned elsewhere than at Aix-la-Chapelle, in order that he might not seem to treat this most ancient city injuriously, and taking leave of the Infant Fernando at Louvaine, he proceeded directly to Aix-la-Chapelle himself. But the Electors, who awaited the Emperor's arrival at Cologne, when they heard of his coming, came also to Aix-la-Chapelle to treat of the ceremonies and other necessary things in connection with the coronation, which had been proclaimed for the 23rd of October, although some opposed, saying that the Emperor neither ought, nor could be crowned, save on a feast day. This scruple, however, was disposed of by the authority of the Bishop of Liege, within whose diocese that city is situate. For he gave orders that the day upon which the solemnity should be celebrated, should ever henceforth be observed within that province as the feast day of St. Severino. Finally, things having been duly arranged, the three Archbishops Electors of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves, presented, according to usage, the decree of election to the municipal authorities, that they might know that the king, who was about to come, had been duly elected.

Then, at mid-day, the Archbishops Electors, together with the Elector of the Palatinate, set forth with great pomp to meet the Emperor; but the other Electors, to wit, the King of Bohemia and the Duke of Saxony, as also the Marquis of Brandenburg, although they did not assist at the coronation, sent their representatives, with the amplest powers. Saluting the Emperor with due reverence, they introduced themselves according to their order, so that the Archbishop of Cologne, as conservator, went at the Emperor's right, and the Archbishop of Mentz at his left, whilst the Archbishop of Treves, together with the Palatine and the Orator of Brandenburg, preceded the Emperor.

Zodo Papense, the Vice-Marshal of the Empire, likewise bore the sword of state. The Orator of Bohemia was the only one who walked in order behind the Emperor; behind him went the Cardinal of Sedan, the Archbishop of Saltzburg, and the Archbishop of Toledo. For the Orators of the other princes would not assist, saying that their places were already filled by the Electors. Whilst the precedence of the assistants was disposed of by the Lord of Iselstein, the Senators of the city received the usual oath from the Emperor.

Then, a difference having arisen between the Archbishop of Juliers and the Saxons, it was settled in this manner: that the Archbishop of Juliers, as advocate of the province, should enter the city and pass directly through it to the other side; and that the Saxon, as Marshal of the Empire, should remain within the city at the head of the army. At the gate of the city, the Emperor in armour worshipped the cross, and kissed the head of Charlemagne, and dismounted from his horse, which the guards of the gate kept as their due perquisite. From thence the Emperor was led to the celebrated and ancient church of St. Mary. The Emperor mounted another horse, which he gave, according to custom, to the Marshal of Cologne, but not without dispute upon the part of the clergy, who challenged this horse as belonging to them.

The coronation was celebrated next day in the following order. The Emperor was introduced into the temple by the Archbishops Electors, he of Cologne going first as Consecrator, and singing, with the choir, the *Te Deum laudamus*. He likewise began the Mass as they call it. Before the Deacon chanted the Gospel, all prostrate, the choir implored the intercessions of the Saints. The Archbishop of Cologne then addressed the Emperor in these terms. "Vis sanctam fidem Catholicis viris traditam tenere et operibus justis servare?" "Will you hold the holy Faith, delivered to Catholics, and maintain it by righteous works?"

To which the Emperor replied, "Volo." "I will."

"Vis sanctis Ecclesiis Ecclesiarumque ministris fidelis esse tutor et defensor?" "Will you be the faithful guardian and defender of the holy churches, and of their ministers?"

He answered, "Volo." "I will."

"Vis regnum tibi à Deo concessum secundum justitiam prædecessorum tuorum regere et efficaciter defendere?" "Will you govern and effectively defend the kingdom which God grants to you, conformably to the justice of your predecessors?"

He answered, "Volo." "I will."

"Vis jura Regni, Imperiique, ac bona ejus dispersa injuste, conservare et recuperare, ac fideliter in usus Regni, Imperiique dispensare?" "Will you conserve and recover the rights of the Kingdom and Empire, together with its unjustly dissipated property, and administer them faithfully for the use of the Kingdom and Empire?"

He replied, "Volo." "I will."

"Vis pauperum et divitum, viduarum et orphanorum æquus esse judex et pius defensor?" "Will you be a just judge and pious defender of the poor and of the rich, of the widow and of the orphan?"

He answered, "Volo." "I will."

"Vis sanctissimo in Christo Patri Domino Romano Pontifici, et sacræ Romanæ Ecclesiæ subjectionem debitam et fidem reverenter exhibere?" "Will you reverently exhibit the due subjection and faith to the most holy Father and Lord in Christ, the Roman Pontiff, and to the holy Roman Church?"

He answered, "Volo." "I will."

These affirmations having been made, the Archbishops of Mentz and of Treves led the Emperor to the high altar, where the Emperor promised, taking his oath, that he would execute, to the utmost of his ability, all that he had asseverated.

Then the Archbishop of Cologne, with his face to the people, said, first in Latin and then in German: "Vultis tali Principi ac Rectori vos subicere, ipsiusque Regnum firmare, fide stabilire, ac jussionibus illius obtemperare?" "Will you subject yourselves to such a Prince and Ruler, strengthen his kingdom, establish it by fidelity, and obey his commands?" To which all shout, "Fiat, Fiat, Fiat!" "Be it so, Be it so!"

Then the Archbishop of Cologne anointed the Emperor, saying, "Ungo te, in Regem, oleo sanctificato, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen." "I anoint thee, as King, with consecrated oil, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."

The Archbishops of Mentz and of Treves conduct the anointed King to the Sacristy, and having invested him with the Imperial ornaments of Charlemagne, they reconduct him from the Sacristy. To him, already seated, the three Archbishops unitedly deliver the sword of Charlemagne, saying to him, "Accipe gladium per manus Episcoporum, ut per eum æquitatem exerceas, iniquitatem destruas, Ecclesiam protegas, ac falsos Christianos oppugnes." "Receive, by the hands of the Bishops, the sword, that with it thou mayst exercise justice, destroy injustice, protect the Church, and assail false Christians."

Then the Archbishop of Cologne alone gave the Emperor the golden ring, and Regal vestments, and sceptre, saying, "Accipe virgam virtutis atque æquitatis, qua intelligas diligere pios et terrere reprobos." "Receive the wand of virtue and equity, wherewith thou mayst learn how to love the pious, and to terrify the wicked."

Which things done, the three Archbishops conjointly placed the royal crown upon his head, the golden one, and not the iron one as is vulgarly imagined, saying, "Accipe coronam regiam." "Accept the royal crown."

And finally they conduct the King, anointed and crowned, to the stone seat of Charlemagne, preserved with the greatest care, seated on which the Archbishops Electors offer the Emperor their felicitations upon his Regal dignity.

The Emperor conferred upon all the secular princes and nobles, who were round about him, the insignia of the order of knighthood.

Whilst these things were doing, and during the solemnity, the Imperial insignia were in the keeping of the following personages. The Count of Limburg, the great Cupbearer, had the Crown; the Count Palatine, the Grand Marshal, the Orb; Zodo Papense, the Vice-Marshal of the Empire, the Sword; and the Count of Zorn, the Imperial Chamberlain, the Sceptre.

The religious ceremony terminated, they conducted the Emperor, clad in his imperial robes, to the Senate-house, to the Hotel de Ville, where there were separate tables prepared, one for each of the electors, even for those who were absent, and others for other German princes; and likewise other tables for the Senators of Cologne, Frankfort, Nuremberg, and Aix-la-Chapelle.

Each of the Electors discharged his peculiar functions at the banquet. The Count of Limburg, the Imperial Cupbearer, poured out the first glass to the Emperor. The Count Palatine, or Grand Marshal of the Empire, served the first dish at the imperial table. And Zodo Papense, the Vice-Marshal, staff in hand, preceded the Grand Marshal. This magnificent and most sumptuous banquet being over, the Emperor returned to the Church of St. Mary, and from thence they reconducted him to his palace.

Thus you have the Emperor anointed and crowned. Should you, in your turn, have anything good happen amongst you, do not feel it tedious to communicate it to us.—Farewell.

ALFONSO DE VALDÉS.¹

Aix-la-Chapelle, 25th October, A.D. 1520.

¹ Letter DCXCIX. [page 389 of the Elzevir edition.]

CHAPTER III.

ALFONSO DE VALDÉS returned from Germany with the Emperor, in 1522, to Spain; his twin-brother Juan also returned from Rome after the death of Adrian VI., 1523, and henceforth became attached to the Spanish court as a gentleman or knight in the Emperor's train. This allowed of the constant intercourse of the two brothers, whose dispositions were as much assimilated by their moral qualities, as their physical frames were by their natural birth.

The most important events were startling Europe with astonishment. The battle of Pavia, in 1521, had delivered the French king an unconditional captive into the power of his rival. New combinations in Italy arose in consequence; the Pope, heretofore an ally of the Emperor, with his accustomed tergiversation, formed a new alliance among the Italian states as well as with France and England, to check the increasing ascendancy of the Spanish power in Italy. This combination led eventually to advance the very object which it was designed to prevent. In vain Castiglione, the Pope's nuncio at the court of Madrid, endeavoured to impress his counsels on the advisers of Charles; the Pope's tortuous policy came to a fatal issue for himself in the disastrous capture and sack of the Eternal City. The rigorous captivity of Francis I. at Madrid, and the severe conditions of his ransom, had agitated the whole European mind against Charles, and a paroxysm of scandal was called forth by the captivity of the so-called Vicar of Jesus Christ. The Emperor's Council, led by Mercurino Gattinara, the most accomplished statesman of that period in Europe, issued a series of official documents, chiefly relating to recent events, in vindication of the character of Charles and the Spanish policy. Alfonso de Valdés, being Latin Secretary to the Emperor, under the direction of the Chancellor prepared the documents for general publication, and caused them to be printed under official authority. This is clearly shown by the following title of one of them:—

“A narrative of the news from Italy, extracted from letters which the Emperor's Generals and Commissioners have written to His Majesty, relating to the victory over the King of France, and to other events which there occurred (*alla acaecidas*). Seen and corrected by His Highness, the Grand Chancellor and His Majesty's Council.” It concludes thus: The Lords of

his Majesty's Council directed me, Alfonso de Valdés, Secretary to his Highness the Grand Chancellor, to cause the present narration to be printed.¹

ALFONSO DE VALDÉS.

Another of these official publications is deserving of notice:—"A short Reply from the most invincible Emperor of the Romans, Charles the Fifth, and Catholic king of the Spains, to two letters of Clement VII., the Roman Pontiff, in which he appeals from the Pontiff himself, and demands the convocation of a general and universal council, with some other letters and public documents. Of which a catalogue will be found on the next sheet. With the Imperial Privilege. Colophon: Printed at Alcalá de Henares by Michael de Eguia. In the year M.D.XXVII. and on the 10th day of April." Thirty-six folio leaves.²

The Pope's nuncio at Madrid, Castiglione, endeavoured, but in vain, to prevent their publication. "The Lord Chancellor Gattinara," writes Castiglione to Rome, "has caused the Apology of the King of France, and his reply [to it] to be printed with a thousand other things, which occurred and were referred to; they have printed likewise the conditions of the confederacy, and I believe also the answer to the Brief wherein his Holiness alleged the reason of the war; also certain letters from the most Christian King [Francis I.] to the Electors of the Empire, and the answer, together with some other similar things, which I wished to prevent *being published, but was unable to do so.*"³

¹ "Relacion de las nuevas de Italia sacadas de las cartas que los capitanes y comisario del Emperador y Rey nuestro señor han escrito á su Majestad: assi de la victoria contra el Rey de Francia como de otras cosas allá caecidas: vista y corregida por el señor gran Chanciller é consejo de su Majestad Los Señores del consejo de su Majestad, mandaron á mi, Alonso de Valdés, secretario del illustre señor gran Chanciller, que ficiese imprimir la presente relacion."

ALFONSO DE VALDÉS.

A tract of 8 leaves 4to., without date or place of printing. Note 1, p. 18, in an Article by the Marques P. J. Pidal, *de Juan de Valdés y de si es el autor del Diálogo de las Lenguas*, in "Revista Hispano-Americana." Entrega 1, 1848.

² Invictissimi Romanorum Imperatoris Caroli hvius nominis quinti, ac Hispaniarum Regis Catholici, ad Dvo Clementis septimi Pontificis Romani brevia responsio, in qua ab ipso Pontifice appellat: petitque generalis christia-

norm omniv Concilii congregationem cum nonnullis aliis litteris, atque actis publicis. Quorum catalogum in proxima pagina invenies. Cum privilegio imperiali. Colophon: Impressum est Compluti, per Michaelum De Eguia. Anno MDXXVII. die decimo Mensis Aprilis. 36 leaves in folio.

In the British Museum and Bodleian Libraries are various editions, with titles slightly varied from the above, which was the first and official edition for Spain. Compluti, 1527. Basil s. a. Antwerp, 1527, 8vo. Dresden, in German, 1529, 4to. In French, in MS. (British Museum). And Moguntia, 1527, 4to., with an imperial licence, signed Alphonsus Valdesius, probably the official edition for Germany.

³ Il sig. Cancelliero . . . ha fatto stampare l'Apologia del Re di Francia e la sua Risposta con mille altre delle cose passate e trattate; medesimamente si stampano i Capitoli della Lega, e credo ancora la risposta del Breve, dove S. Santità allegava le cause della guerra; medesimamente certe lettere del Chris-

Besides these publications, which were strictly political, and put forth under the Chancellor by official authority of the Government, in opposition to the endeavours of the Pope's nuncio to suppress them, Alfonso and Juan afterwards drew up, on their own account, two treatises, rather religious than political, yet having the same object in view—namely, the justification of the Emperor's course of policy. One of them related to the detention of the King of France, the other to the Pope, his ally; both of them combining with the narrative of political events the inculcation of the highest sentiments of morality, designed to promote a thorough reformation of religion in the Catholic Church. In these the hand of Juan may be clearly traced in the religious parts, by their coincidence with the sentiments and style of his later and exclusively religious writings. We cannot doubt that both the brothers were concerned in the plan and composition of these tracts. The primary aim and political purpose would be Alfonso's, for which he would furnish the documentary proofs and supply the arguments; while Juan, more at leisure, and with a mind more devoted to sacred subjects, arranged the materials and made the religious application of the whole. They are therefore to be attributed to him as literary productions, although, from Alfonso's more prominent position, they were at the time assigned exclusively to his pen. He felt it honourable and convenient not to disavow the authorship in order to shield his brother, his own high official position being security for himself, as was shown in the attack made upon him by the Pope's nuncio; and this proved sufficient so long as the Grand Chancellor lived. These two treatises, cast into the form of dialogues, are no less remarkable for their truthful illustration of contemporary history, than for their chaste elegance of style and graceful turns of wit and argument; and, being written in the purest Spanish of the age, are regarded as classical by well-informed scholars of the present day. One writer goes so far as to say that they ought to be reckoned amongst the best in Spanish literature, not merely for their scope and object, but for their purity, wit, and elegance of language, the peculiarities of which appear to have been attentively studied by Cervantes, and to have been transferred into his writings. In this study Cervantes had Garcilaso de la Vega, the poet,

tianissimo agli Elettori del Imperio e la risposta, e alcun' altre tai cose, alle quali io averei voluto rimidiare, e far che non si pubblicassero, ma non ho potuto.

Di Valledolit alli XVIII. di Marzo MDXXVII.—Serassi, *Lettere del B. Castiglione*. Padova, 1769-71, vol. ii. p. 144.

for his forerunner, who enjoyed the additional advantage of personal intercourse with Juan de Valdés at Naples. The dialogues are entitled—

I.—Dialogue of Mercury and Charon; in which, besides much that is pleasing, and at the same time edifying, are related incidents that occurred in the war from the year 1521 up to the time that the cartels of defiance of the kings of France and England were sent to the Emperor in the year 1528.

II.—Dialogue which especially treats of the events that happened at Rome in the year 1527. To the glory of God and the welfare of all Christendom.¹

Although actually second in the order of composition, we may, in the first place, direct attention to the Dialogue between Mercury and Charon, being that which treats of affairs relative to France and England between 1521 and 1528. We cannot help remarking that in all the writings of Juan de Valdés, in which he deals with historical events, and deduces moral lessons from them, there are not only the veracity and good sense which characterize every work of a sterling author, but elucidations which clearly manifest his diligence and fidelity in the investigation and verification of facts. In proof of this, let it suffice to allude to the manner in which he judges Cardinal Wolsey in this dialogue,² from which it appears that the Cardinal had first deceived the Emperor in money matters, and after that his sovereign Henry VIII., he himself being the only guilty party in framing a forged cartel of defiance. Wolsey was well known in England, but throughout the rest of Europe, Valdés' judgment against Wolsey, doubtless, to most people appeared utterly groundless; for it would not be believed that a minister would have dared to send a cartel of defiance to the Emperor Charles V. by the public and chivalrous agency of a king-at-arms without his sovereign's command. The fact, however, that Wolsey carried out, in his foreign relations of the country, his own arrogant and self-interested schemes rather than the wishes of his king and his coun-

¹ I.—Dialogo de Mercurio y Caron: en que allende de muchas cosas graciosas y de buena doctrina: se cuenta lo que ha acaecido en la guerra desde el año de mill y Quinientos y veynte y vno hasta los desafios de los Reyes de Francia y Ynglaterra hechos al Emperador en el año de 1528, 4to. and 8vo. Gothic letter, 3 editions, s. l. et a.

II.—Dialogo: en que particularmente se tratan: las cosas acaecidas en Roma el año de MDXXVII. A gloria de Dios y bien vniuersal de la Republica christiana. 4to. Gothic letter. s. l. et a.

Both Dialogues have been reprinted:

Dos Dialogos escritos por JUAN DE VALDÉS, ahora cuidadosamente reimpresos. "Valdesso Hispanus Scriptore superbiat orbis." s. l. 1850, 8vo. pp. xx. & 484.

See "Life and Times of Paleario," by M. Young, vol. i. p. 204—218, 1860, for an excellent analysis of the "Dialogo de Mercurio y Caron," drawn up with great judgment and discrimination; for while it gives a sufficient view of the whole, there is nothing in it prolix or tedious.

² Pages 29, 99, 124, 152, 179, 180, 181-9.

cillors, was certain ; and Valdés, by recording his machinations in the Dialogue at the very time of the occurrences, and at the risk of being disbelieved, shows the strength of his attachment to truth, and his resolution in asserting it, even when opposed to popular opinion.

In the preface to this Dialogue, Valdés declares that he wrote it to show that the Emperor was not the cause of the war ; and to enliven the tedium of the political narration, he had introduced Charon, the boatman of the Styx, and Mercury, the messenger of the gods, holding a conversation on the current affairs of the world, and questioning the souls of some of the actors in them as to their own part in those transactions. Mercury is introduced narrating the train of events. After the sack of Rome by the army of Charles V., in 1527, under the Constable Bourbon, the Emperor immediately sent a circular letter to all the European courts, one of them especially addressed to Henry VIII., which is given literally in the text of the Dialogue by Valdés ; his brother Alfonso, in his official capacity as Latin secretary to the Emperor, was its writer, and by him he was most probably supplied with all the other historical information.

The conversation continues with the appearance of the Soul of a Councillor of the King of England. Charon puts the question :—

CHARON : What has this spirit to communicate ? Let us learn who it is, and what news it brings.

SOUL : I know what you want. I was Councillor to the King of England, and the news I bear is, that there our king has concerted with the King of France to make war unitedly against the Emperor ; and they have already sent to defy him. I deserve to be *well paid* by you for the communication.

CHARON : You would—had we not known it before you.

SOUL : How is it possible that you can have known it before me, for I was present when it was determined ?

CHARON : As you were present, you will not object to tell us what motives induced your king to make war upon the Emperor, to whom he was bound so closely by services and friendship, and had no cause for enmity.

SOUL : He had but one motive.

CHARON : Only one ?

SOUL : I say that he had but one.

CHARON : What was that ?

SOUL : The avarice and ambition of a Cardinal whom he has about his person, and by whom he allows himself to be swayed.

CHARON : The rascal ! A pretty cardinal, indeed ! Let us see what moved him to act thus. Was it love to the King of France ? or was it a grudge that he had against the Emperor ?

SOUL : A curse for the love he has to the King of France, or any mortal on earth, beyond what he thinks will benefit himself !

CHARON : What do you say ?

SOUL : It is so.

CHARON : According to that, he must entertain some hostile feeling against the Emperor, which leads him to promote this war.

SOUL : Now, I tell you, you have hit the mark.

CHARON : Has he any motive for it ?

SOUL : Only one.

CHARON : What is that ?

SOUL : The Emperor is good and virtuous, and he himself is the reverse; and, as you know, the wicked hate the good. Yet there is still one thing more: he never could prevail on the Emperor to get him made Pope by force.

CHARON : What ! did the Cardinal ever dare contemplate anything so infamous and abominable as that ?

SOUL : Did he ever *dare* !—I wonder what that is that he would not dare to perpetrate !

CHARON : Well, tell us under what pretext does he seek to excite this hostile feeling and war.

MERCURY : Leave that point, Charon, for the present ; I will explain it to you in due order. Tell me, sinful Soul, did you give your voice in favour of undertaking and carrying on a war so unjust as this ?

SOUL : God knows how it grieved me to do so ; but I could not do otherwise, unless I wanted to be turned out of the Council.

MERCURY : How so ?

SOUL : Because the man who contradicted the Cardinal's will would cease that very day to be member of the Council.

MERCURY : Would it not have been better for you to have been put out from it, and saved, than to come to hell, to be lost ?

SOUL : Yes ! but one's honour !

MERCURY : As you preferred worldly honour to eternal life, you will have to pay here for making such an unlucky choice.

CHARON : Let the poor Soul go, Mercury ; and now tell me about the King of England.

MERCURY : I have already told you that in the year 1522, when the Emperor went to Spain, he made a treaty with the King of England.

CHARON : Well ! Go on !

MERCURY : This treaty was carried out, until that English cardinal, on the death of Pope Adrian, earnestly pressed the Emperor that he would send his army to the walls of Rome, to compel and force the cardinals to elect him Pope.

CHARON : Is it possible ?

MERCURY : It was so.

CHARON : Again I say, the Vicars of Christ act outrageously if they cause themselves to be elected by dint of arms.

MERCURY : The Emperor never would consent to do it.

CHARON : God bless him !

MERCURY : Mark what happened. Because the Emperor would not do it, all kindly feelings upon the part of the Cardinal towards the Emperor were annihilated, and he conceived a deadly enmity against him, saying that he would make the Emperor repent of not having done it, though it should involve the downfall of England.

CHARON : What is it you tell me ? Was there ever such a thing heard of ? And is not this King of England ashamed to allow himself to be ruled by such a man as this ?

MERCURY : He cannot know him.

CHARON : And does not the whole kingdom cry out ?

MERCURY : No one dare open his mouth.

CHARON : The King and the kingdom are very unfortunate !

MERCURY : Then the Cardinal began to plot with the French to break

off friendly relations with the Emperor. And having broken them on various occasions, finally, in the year 1525, he negotiated a treaty with the King of France, whilst he was a prisoner in Spain. Then subsequently, when the King of France was liberated, he commenced war with the Emperor, and in carrying it on was aided by the King of England with money, both publicly and privately.¹

Wolsey sent, as in the name and by order of the King his master, though such an order had never been given, Thomas Bennett Clarencieux, to bear a cartel of defiance to the Emperor, in conjunction with the French herald, telling the King at the same time that Clarencieux had gone of his own mind, without any instructions, to give the defiance. By way of apology to Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador in London, Wolsey had the effrontery to affirm that the King was informed by the French ambassador that the envoys of both sovereigns had been put in prison at Madrid. When this was denied, he added, with most cruel audacity, that Clarencieux had made the defiance to the Emperor without the King's commandment, only by the motion of the French ambassador to accompany the French herald, and for this presumptuous act he should suffer death at Calais upon his return. All this Mendoza wrote down and dispatched. His letters, providentially for Clarencieux, were opened and copied at Bayonne, as the post passed that way. "When Clarencieux was returning homeward, the captain of Bayonne," says Halle, "quietly showed to him the copy

¹ See "Dos Dialogos," 1850, p. 99—103.

It was known at Madrid that Wolsey opened the Spanish ambassador's letters; and Dr. Sampson, the English ambassador at Madrid, was obliged to apologize on behalf of Wolsey for his having done so.

For the Emperor's view of Wolsey, see Letter CXXXII. of Ellis's "Third Series of Original Letters," vol. ii. p. 12, written conjointly by the three ambassadors at Madrid.

The three ambassadors in Spain, Bishop Tunstall, Sir Richard Wingfield, and Master Sampson, to Cardinal Wolsey, reporting their first audience with the Emperor, who expresses his great dissatisfaction at Wolsey's general demeanour. [MS. Cotton, Vespasian, C. III. fol. 55, Orig.]

Wolsey's occasional coarseness in his expressions, even towards foreign princes, is singularly illustrated in this letter; whence it would seem that negotiations sometimes stood a chance of being impeded by the violence of his temper. Tunstall, Wingfield, and Sampson, in the present letter, tell jointly the harsh

expressions complained of by Charles V., which Wolsey had used to his ambassadors. The Emperor himself was a "liar," who observed no manner of faith or promise; my Lady Margaret was ribald; Don Fernando, his brother, a child, and so governed; and the Duke of Bourbon, a "creature." The English ambassadors endeavoured to extenuate the matter, but could not deny the words.

In addition to this general letter, which it was presumed the King of England would read, two private ones preserved in the same vol. (fol. 58—60), one from Tunstall, the other from Sir Richard Wingfield, both written in their own hands, and bearing the same date as the general letter of June 2nd—entreatings Wolsey, "for the establishing of their master's affair and the same of ours," to write to Charles V. Tunstall says, "Your Grace's plainliness is not so well taken as it is worthy; wherefore it were as good to give them good words for good words, and keeping secret your thoughts as they do."

of the letters that the Emperor's ambassador had written." Dismayed, he went on, however, to Boulogne, when hearing again of his danger, instead of going to Calais, he stopped short at Boulogne, and immediately sailing from thence to Rye, arrived secretly at Hampton Court. Through Sir Nicholas Carew, Master of the Horse, he obtained an audience of Henry before Wolsey could be aware of his return. When he showed the *three* letters of instructions which the Cardinal had sent him, charging him to make the defiance, he then declared how courteously he had been treated by the Emperor, who already was well informed of the true circumstances; and when he exhibited his chain of gold, valued at five hundred ducats, given him by the Emperor, the King exclaimed, as Foxe relates,¹ "O, Lord Jesus, he that I trusted most told me all these things contrary. Well, Clarentius, I will no more be so light of credence hereafter; for now I clearly see that I have been made to believe the thing that was never done;" and from that time forward the King never put any more confidence or trust in the Cardinal, although he continued near the person of the King for nearly eighteen months longer.

From the preceding quotations, we find that Valdés was well informed on the subject, and did not transgress the bounds of propriety when he inculcated Wolsey. It was both opportune and needful to condemn such perfidious proceedings when he composed a work of such a nature as the Dialogue of Mercury and Charon.

Having shown the manner in which he deals with political character, to illustrate *one* purpose of this Dialogue, we here proceed to exhibit the tone of his moral and religious opinions respecting the various features of Spanish life, as they appeared before him in his own experience and from his personal knowledge. It is believed that in this way he portrays his own and his brother's individual sentiments in these his earliest writings; and his later ones most consistently evince the same mental qualities.

With the exception of the fact of marriage—for he lived unmarried—he here appears to give us a description of the circumstances of his own life:—

CHARON : Turn hither, soul ! where are you going ? . . .

SOUL : To heaven.

CHARON : Ill luck attend you, since you will pass over without my boat.

¹ Foxe, vol. ii. p. 246, ed. 1641.

SOUL : It seems to me I shall do so.

CHARON : How, and why ?

SOUL : Because Jesus Christ has so willed it.

CHARON : Since I can get nothing else from you, at least I ask you to tell me how you lived on earth, now that you are about to enjoy boundless bliss.

SOUL : Although I would fain not have been detained at this time, yet I shall willingly satisfy your desire. You must know that when a youth, although I naturally loathed the vices, yet through bad companions I was held enslaved by them for many years. When I attained twenty years of age, I began to know myself, and to learn what it is to be a Christian ; and knowing that ambition is exceedingly opposed to the teachings of the New Testament, I then determined to renounce many vain thoughts that I had held as to the acquisition of great wealth, and I began to deride certain superstitions that I saw were rife among Christians ; but I did not, on this account, lay aside vices that had become habitual. At twenty-five years of age I began seriously to reflect on my manner of life, and on my abuse of the knowledge God had given me.¹ And I reasoned thus : Either the doctrines of the New Testament are true, or they are not ; if they are true, is it not gross folly for me to live as I am doing, in opposition to them ? If they are false, why do I impose on myself the numerous ceremonies and regulations observed by Christians ? Then God enlightened my mind ; and knowing the doctrines of the New Testament to be true, I determined to lay aside superstitions and vices in all their forms, and to occupy myself in following out the former to the best of my poor ability, although friends and relatives placed immense obstacles in the way of my doing so. Some said that I was going mad, and others that I was about to turn monk, whilst I made sport for them all. But, from love to Jesus Christ, I bore it all patiently.

CHARON : Did you not then enter the cloister ?

SOUL : No.

CHARON : And why ?

SOUL : Because I knew that the way in which monks live was not likely to suit me. I was told that the monks had seldom opportunity to sin, as compared with men living in the world, to which I replied, that sinful desire developed itself as fully inside a monastery as outside, and moreover, that sinful man never wanted, let him be where he may, time and opportunities for being so, and that those persons who hold themselves far above all temptation frequently fall more heinously and more disgracefully. True it is that I was once inclined to turn monk to escape the indulgence of ambition ; but on going to confess myself to a monk, my personal friend, he told me that ambition was as prevalent among them as amongst men outside ; whereupon I determined not to change my garb.

CHARON : Did you converse with them ?

SOUL : Yes, with those in whom the *image of Jesus Christ* was seen to shine forth.

CHARON : Then you took orders ?

SOUL : Neither did I do that.

CHARON : And why did you not ?

¹ Speaking of books of chivalry, at that period universally and almost exclusively read in Spain, Valdés says :— "Ten years, the best of my life, which I spent in palaces and courts, I did not employ myself in more virtuous exercises than in reading these lying romances, in which I took so much relish,

that I ate my food with the books in my hand. And notice what a thing it is to have a depraved taste ; for if I took in hand a work translated from the Latin that was true history, or at least what was held as such, I had not patience to read it."—*Diálogo de la Lengua*, ed. Madrid, 1860, p. 181.

SOUL : Because I felt unworthy to administer the most holy sacrament so frequently, and it pained me to have daily to pray such long hours ; it appeared to me that my time would be better spent in trying to understand what others repeat as prayers, without understanding them, than to string psalms and prayers together, never heeding the sense of the one, or comprehending the others. Moreover, they told me that it was not well to grant orders to a man who had not a benefice ; and knowing the stratagems and lawsuits incident to ecclesiastical benefices, I wished to escape that labyrinth.

CHARON : What condition of life did you adopt ?

SOUL : I married.

CHARON : You brought endless troubles on yourself ?

SOUL : They bring themselves into trouble who marry for outward beauty or for wealth ; but I disregarded these, and chose a young woman of my own condition, with whom I lived very happily. If I desired anything, she expressed herself perfectly happy at my having it, and I did the same whenever she desired anything.

CHARON : Were there no differences between you ?

SOUL : Occasionally, when, from a reciprocal desire to please each other, we were at a loss as to the best way of carrying it out.

CHARON : Such strife was but the maintenance of peace.

SOUL : Just so.

CHARON : Did you ever go on pilgrimage ?

SOUL : No ; because it seems to me that Jesus Christ manifests Himself everywhere to those who truly seek Him ; and because I saw many who returned from pilgrimage worse than when they set out. And it likewise appeared to me to be an act of folly to *seek at Jerusalem what I had within me.*

CHARON : Then you did not think favourably of pilgrimages ?

SOUL : Though I did not think them profitable to myself, I commended and approved the holy purpose of some who were prompted to make them.

CHARON : Did you hear Mass ?

SOUL : Without fail on Saints' days, and likewise on other days when disengaged.

CHARON : Did you fast ?

SOUL : When in health, I kept all the fasts appointed by the Church ; and I did so whenever I thought fasting conducive to the health of body or soul.

CHARON : And fasting voluntarily, did you eat meat ?

SOUL : Yes.

CHARON : How, whilst eating meat, did you fast ?

SOUL : Why not ? since to attain the end I had in view meat was better than fish.

CHARON : Did you pray ?

SOUL : Constantly.

CHARON : How was that possible ?

SOUL : In all places, and at all times, I endeavoured to glorify Jesus Christ, both by works and words. And I held that to be prayer.

CHARON : Did you never ask anything of God ?

SOUL : I asked the pardon of my sins, and grace to persevere in His service, ever recognizing myself to be the greatest sinner in the world.

CHARON : Look now : was it not wrong to lie ? Did you not know that there were many others in the world who lived worse than you ?

SOUL : Yes ; but I likewise knew that had not God, of His infinite mercy, held me up by His hand, I should have done works far worse than any other man ; and for this reason I knew myself to be a greater sinner

than others, attributing to God only whatever good there was in me, if indeed there was any.

CHARON : Did you never ask of God wealth or personal advantages ?

SOUL : No ; I only asked of Him that He should give me them, or deprive me of them, as He knew best, for His service, and the salvation of my soul.

CHARON : Did you found either church or monastery ?

SOUL : No ; for it appeared to me that, in the greater number of instances, this was done at the suggestion of ambition ; and what money I had to spend I preferred to distribute privately amongst the poor, where I saw evident need, rather than elsewhere.

CHARON : In this manner the monks got but little out of you ?

SOUL : Quite true as to those whom I saw beyond want, and as to those who appeared to me to beg for objects of luxury ; but I never failed to give of my substance to those whom I saw in need.

CHARON : Were you ever attached to the court of any prince ?

SOUL : Yes ; up to the time of my marriage.

CHARON : And could you whilst at court live virtuously ?

SOUL : Why not ?

CHARON : Because at the courts of princes the virtuous are ever maltreated and persecuted.

SOUL : Quite true as a general rule ; but it was my lot to live with a prince so virtuous, that he was ever ready to favour those who lived virtuously ; and so it came to pass, that while in the courts of other princes there are many vicious and bad, in his there were many virtuous and good. For it is a well-established fact, that as is the prince so are the courtiers ; and as are the courtiers, so is the prince.

CHARON : See now : whilst at court, did you not encounter opposition to your designs ?

SOUL : Very often ; but I knew how to convert such incidents into opportunities for pushing on in the good way with greater determination.

CHARON : How so ?

SOUL : Suppose, for instance, that I saw an individual whose course in life was marked by hankering after riches, in contemplating him I learned to abhor riches. If I saw another amassing wealth, by fair means or foul, I felt inclined to renounce the possession of what I had. If I occasionally found myself in company with dissolute women, I was seized with such a loathing to them, that what acted as poison on others, acted as a remedy on me. I discharged the duties of my office as a man should who felt himself placed in it, not to benefit himself, but for the welfare of society ; and in this way I seemed to have a certain influence on all who were about the court, and even on the prince himself.

CHARON : How did you pass your time ?

SOUL : What leisure I had, after the discharge of my official duties, I occupied in reading good books, or in writing things which might benefit me whilst writing them, and benefit others whilst reading them. My relations and friends were not on this account less social, so that they could not think me a hypocrite, nor could they think it belonged to a good Christian to be a gloomy man.

CHARON : Did you not fear death ?

SOUL : The troubles and trials of life gave me much greater concern.

CHARON : Did you ever desire to die ?

SOUL : I was always prepared to die when God should be pleased to summon me ; however, it was only on one occasion that I longed for it, and that was when I saw a Franciscan monk die with such joy and satisfaction that I would fain have followed him.

CHARON : How did you bear the infirmities and trials that befell you ?

SOUL : I willingly accepted them, knowing that they came from the Lord's hand, and that He sent me them but for my greater welfare.

CHARON : What remedy had you against pride ?

SOUL : The recollection that I was mortal.

CHARON : And what against ambition ?

SOUL : The recollection of the trials they have to pass through who are in the highest stations, and how much more liable they are to fall.

CHARON : Did you never desire to be rich, in order that you might, for God's sake, do good to many ?

SOUL : No.

CHARON : Why not ?

SOUL : I knew that God amply provides for the maintenance of His poor, and that He would never call me to account for that which He had not given me. Besides which, I knew the danger to which they expose themselves who seek riches. . . .

CHARON : Did you confess ?

SOUL : I confessed myself to God daily ; and when I wished to take the most holy sacrament, if I felt my conscience burdened with any offence against God, I confessed myself to a priest. Besides which, I confessed myself once a year, in order to comply with the requirements of the Church.

CHARON : Did you get many jubilees and indulgences ?

SOUL : Yes ; but I ever preferred to travel by the high road rather than by short cuts [or byways]. And such being my aim, my jubilees and indulgences were resolutions to follow Jesus Christ's teachings, which appeared to me so truly a king's highway that a man could not err therein.

CHARON : Were you never reproved for this ?

SOUL : Frequently ; but I replied, " Brethren ! take that way which appears to you the best, and let me take that which I prefer, since you see that it is not a bad one."

CHARON : I know that you could well take both.

SOUL : What you say is true ; but I kept my eye firmly fixed on Jesus Christ only.

CHARON : How did you die ?

SOUL : One day I found myself very ill, and, inwardly conscious that the hour had arrived in which I was to be liberated from the prison of this gross body, I sent for the curate of my parish, that he might confess me and give me the sacrament. Having done this, he asked me if I wished to make my will. I told him that I had already made it. He asked me whether I would leave anything to his church, or to be distributed between the poor, and friars, and nuns. I replied that I had, when living, distributed what it appeared to me I had to dispose of, leaving my wife and children provided for, and that I would not pretend to offer in service to God that of which I had already lost the enjoyment. He asked me how many double passing bells¹ I would have tolled, when I said that bells

¹ Matthew Paris observes that anciently the use of bells was prohibited in time of mourning ; at present, however, the tolling of these forms one of the principal ceremonies of interment. Mabillon adds, that it was an ancient custom to ring bells for persons about to expire, to advertise the people to pray for them. The passing bell, indeed, was rung for two purposes : one,

to bespeak the prayers of all good Christians for a soul just departing ; the other, to drive away the evil spirits which are supposed to stand near the bed of the dying, or about the house, ready to seize their prey, or at least to molest and terrify the soul in its passage. By the ringing of the bell—for Durandus informs us that evil spirits are greatly afraid of bells—they were

could not take me to heaven, and that the sexton, or bell-ringer, might do as he pleased. He asked me where I would be buried. I replied that I was concerned that my soul should go to Jesus Christ, and that I cared but little for the body, and that they might bury it, if desired, in a cemetery. He asked me how many hired mourners I wished to attend my body, and how many wax tapers and cierges I wished to burn at my burial, and how many masses should be said on the day of my interment; what ceremonies should be observed, and how many monthly masses should be said for my soul. I said to him, "Father, for God's sake, don't weary me with these things; I leave the whole management of the affair to you; do as you think best. As for myself, I fix my trust upon Jesus Christ alone. All I ask of you is to give me extreme unction." He said that had he not confessed me, he should have thought me a heathen or a pagan, because I attached so little importance to that which others held to be paramount. I satisfied him to the best of my ability, and at last he went away grumbling. When the disease began to distress me, I cast myself on the bed, begging of all not to grieve, for I was only too happy to throw off this mortal body, and that I could in nowise consent that they should weep for me; and calling my wife aside, I commended my children earnestly to her, and enjoined on them ever to be obedient to her, and earnestly pressed upon them all to persevere in that Christian charity and kindness of which I had set them an example. And knowing that my last hour was at hand, I asked them to bring me the extreme unction; and having received that, they wanted to know whether they should send for two friars who should help me to die properly. I begged that they might not be troubled on my account, for that as I had never given them ought to do for me when living, so neither would I when dying. They asked me whether I wished to die in the habit of St. Francis; I replied, "Brethren, you know how careful I have ever been to deceive no one: why do you wish me now to seek to deceive God? If I have lived like St. Francis, I am quite certain that Jesus Christ will receive me into heaven as He did St. Francis; and if my life has been unlike his, what shall it profit me to let this body be covered here with a garb like his?" It was then late, and I asked them all to go to bed, save a friend, whom they might leave there to read to me such passages of Scripture as I might select, and especially the discourse which Jesus Christ addressed to His disciples at "the Last Supper," every word of which excited and inflamed within me a burning desire to reach His presence who had uttered them. On the morrow they placed a lighted candle in my hand, and I, having the psalm rehearsed which Jesus Christ recited when on the cross, and whilst listening attentively to it, felt that my soul had begun to leave my body; and exclaiming, "Jesus Christ, receive my sinful soul!" I escaped from the dungeon of the flesh. And I am now journeying to that place where Jesus Christ has promised His people that they shall enjoy His glory. Understand in this the recital of my manner of life and of death, and excuse me as unable to tarry longer.¹

But it was the Dialogue especially treating of the events that happened at Rome in the year 1527 (which is placed in the volume second in order, though the first in composition)

kept aloof; and the soul, like a hunted hare, gained the start, or had what sportsmen call *lavr*. This dislike of spirits to bells is mentioned in the "Golden Legend," by Wynkyn de Worde. "It is said the evil spirytes that ben in the regyon of thayre, doubte moche when they here the belles rongen: and this is the cause why the belles ben

rongen when it thondreth, and when grete tempeste and outrages of wether happen, to the ende that the feinds and wycked spirytes shold be abashed and flee, and cease of the morynge of tempeste."

¹ See "Dos Dialogos," por Juan de Valdés, edition 1850, pp. 158-173.

that had the most important influence on the future fortunes of the brothers. It was composed about August of the year in which the sacking of Rome took place, of which it treats, while the events were fresh upon everybody's tongue, and when the Chancellor Gattinara had just arrived at the Emperor's court at Valladolid from Italy, full of the details of what had transpired there.¹ It was intended for private circulation only. The manuscript of it was carefully considered. It was submitted to the judgment and revision of several members of the Emperor's Council—Matteo Aleman, his secretary; Don Juan Manuel, who had been his resident at Rome; the Grand Chancellor, Mercurino de Gattinara; also to some of the most eminent theologians and professors—Pedro de Lerma, High Chancellor of the University of Alcalá, uncle of Francisco de Enzinas, translator of the Spanish New Testament; Dr. Coronel, Secretary to the Inquisitor-General; and others distinguished for their learning and enlightened sentiments, being chiefly those who favoured the writings of Erasmus. The scene of the Dialogue opens in the market-place of Valladolid, between a young knight of the Emperor's court, named Lactancio, and his friend, the Archdeacon of Viso, just escaped from Rome in the disguise of a soldier. They retire together to the church of San Francisco, to converse upon the stupendous events which had just taken place at Rome. The first part of the Dialogue is directed to the vindication of the conduct and policy of the Emperor, showing the sacking of Rome to have been but a natural consequence of the vicious vacillating diplomacy of the Pope himself. In the second part Juan de Valdés endeavours to prove, by the mouth of his speaker, Lactancio, that the particular calamities which befell the Eternal City and the pontifical hierarchy were of a kind designed by Providence to be direct punishments and corrections of their peculiar vices, ambition, avarice, superstition, idolatry, hypocrisy, and recklessness of the souls of men. To bring out the proof that the Pope and not the Emperor was to blame for the sacking of Rome, Lactancio thus draws out the archdeacon to define what he considers to be properly the office of Pope:—

LACTANCIO: In order that we may better understand each other as to the differences between the Pope and the Emperor, I beg you in the first place to tell me what are the functions of a Pope, and what are those of an Emperor, and to what end these dignities were instituted?

ARCHDEACON: To my mind the functions of the Emperor are to defend

¹ This shows that Valdés received from the highest and most direct the particulars of what he wrote about, source.

his subjects, to preserve to them the greatest enjoyment of peace and justice, administering favour to the good and chastisement to the bad.

LACT. : Well defined ; and what are those of the Pope ?

ARCH. : It is very difficult to say ; for, if we regard the days of St. Peter, they would differ from those of the present time.

LACT. : When I ask you for what end this dignity was instituted, be it understood that you have to express the will and intention of Him who instituted it.

ARCH. : To my mind it was instituted in order that the Chief Pontiff might expound sacred Scripture authoritatively ; and that he might teach the people Christian doctrine, not only by words, but as a living exemplar ; and that he might continuously intercede for his Christian people with tears and prayers, and that he might have the supreme power of absolving those that had sinned upon their seeking conversion, and to declare those condemned who obstinately persevered in evil courses ; and that he should strive with sustained effort to uphold the greatest peace and concord amongst Christians ; and finally, that we might yet have one here upon earth who should truly represent the life and holy habits of Jesus Christ our Redeemer, because the human heart is more readily attracted by deeds than by words. This is what I can gather from holy Scripture ; if you know anything more, tell it.

LACT. : This suffices for the present ; only see to it that you do not forget it, for we shall occasionally need it hereafter.

ARCH. : It shall not be forgotten.

LACT. : Then, if I clearly show you that the destruction of Rome has been brought about through the Emperor's performance of all that to which you say yourself he is obliged, and through the non-performance upon the part of the Pope of that which he ought to have done, upon whom will you lay the blame ?

ARCH. : If you do this—which I do not believe you can—it is clear that it will attach to the Pope.

LACT. : Tell me, then, since you say that the Pope was instituted in order that he should imitate Jesus Christ, which, think you, did Jesus Christ prefer—to maintain peace amongst His people, or to cause them to rise and embroil themselves in war ?

ARCH. : It is clear that the Author of Peace has nothing in greater abhorrence than war.

LACT. : Well, then, let us see. How can he be an imitator of Jesus Christ who foments war and dissolves peace ?

ARCH. : Such an one would be very far from imitating Him. But, with a view to what do you suggest this ?

LACT. : That is for you to tell me ; for, whilst the Emperor was engaged in defending his subjects, which it is his duty to do, the Pope took up arms against him, doing that which he ought not to do, and broke the peace, and excited fresh war in Christendom. The Emperor cannot be blamed for the ills that followed, since he did what he ought to do ; nor can the Pope be exculpated, since he did what he ought not to do, in breaking the peace and exciting war in Christendom.

ARCH. : What peace did the Pope break, or what war did he excite in Christendom ?

LACT. : He broke the peace which the Emperor had made with the King of France, and he fomented the war in which we are now involved ; whence, by the just judgment of God, the evil that has come upon him.

ARCH. : A fair narration ; but where do you find that the Pope excited and stirred up war against the Emperor, after peace had been made with the King of France ?

LACT. : Because that, immediately upon the King's liberation from prison, the Pope sent him a Brief, in which he absolved him from the oath he made to the Emperor, in order that he might not be obliged to fulfil what he had promised, and that he might more freely make war against the Emperor.

ARCH. : How do you know this? You say this just as if you had been a privy councillor of the Pope.

LACT. : It is known in various ways; and, not to lose time, look at the beginning of the league which the Pope made with the King of France, and you will clearly see that the Pope was the promoter of it; and so true is it, that even the Pope himself confesses it. Now, does it appear to you that this was what a Vicar of Jesus Christ ought to have done? You say that it was his duty to introduce peace where there was discord, whilst he sowed war amongst those who were agreed. You say it was his duty, by words and deeds, to teach the people the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and he taught them everything at variance with it. You say it was his duty to intercede with God for his people, whilst he strove to destroy them. You say it was his duty to imitate Jesus Christ, whilst he laboured in everything to be unlike Him. Jesus Christ was poor and humble, whilst he, to increase a temporal rule which I know not how to characterize, set all Christendom in a blaze. Jesus Christ returned good for evil, whilst he returned evil for good in forming a league against the Emperor, from whom he had received so many benefits. I do not say this to injure the Pope, for I know well that it did not proceed from him, but that he was instigated to do so by evil councillors.

ARCH. : It being so, who is to blame for it?

LACT. : They who led him to do so, and he likewise for having such bad people about him. Do you believe that, before God, a prince will be excused by casting the blame upon his councillors? No, no! Since God has endowed him with judgment, let him select worthy men to be members of his council, who shall rightly advise him; and if he take or desire to have unworthy ones, let him bear the blame; and if he have not judgment adequate to enable him to select suitable men, let him abdicate.

ARCH. : It is difficult to do what you require.

LACT. : Difficult!—how so? Is so great judgment needed? Tell me, what war is there so just that a Vicar of Jesus Christ ought to take it up against Christians, members of the same body of which Christ is the head, and he the Vicar?

ARCH. : The Pope was perfectly justified in taking up this war against the Emperor—in the first place, because the Emperor had not sought his friendship; and in the second place, because he had taken and usurped the duchy of Milan, despoiling the Duke Francisco Sforza of it;—seeing which the Pope feared lest some other day he should do the same to him, and strip him of the territories of the Church. Therefore it was quite right and reasonable that the Pope took up arms against the Emperor, both to compel him to reinstate the Duke of Milan in his dominions, and to secure the rule of the territories of the Church.

LACT. : I am astonished that a man of such good judgment as yourself should have given utterance to anything so unreasonable as this. Let us see whether the Pope did so as the Vicar of Christ or as Giulio de' Medici?

ARCH. : Clearly he did it as Christ's Vicar.

LACT. : Well, I say, even had the Emperor, against all right and reason, sought to deprive the Duke of Milan of all his dominions, the Pope had nothing to do with it. Why should he interfere when he was not called in, and in a matter that was foreign to his office? As though Jesus

Christ had not set him an example to do the opposite, who, when requested that He should amicably divide an inheritance between two brethren, refused to do it; setting His people an example that they should not interfere in matters so vile and base. And would you now have His Vicar interpose with arms between them, without having been invited by them to do so? Where do you find that Jesus Christ appointed His Vicar to be a judge between secular princes; and, still further, the executive agent and stirrer up of war amongst Christians? Would you see how far the man is from being the Vicar of Christ who excites war, see its fruits, and how contrary they are, not only to Christian doctrine, but even to human nature. All animals are naturally provided with defensive and offensive arms; but to man, as a creature come down from heaven, impersonating perfect concord, as an object that should here represent the image of God, He left him disarmed. It was His will there should prevail amongst men a harmony rivalling that amongst the angels in heaven. Alas! that we should now have become so excessively blind that, more brutish than the brutes themselves, we should kill each other. The beasts live at peace; we, worse than beasts, live at war. And if it be made a matter of research how men live in different countries, you shall find that in Christendom, which is [or rather, in the year 1530, was] but a nook upon the face of the earth, there is more war there than throughout the rest of the world. And we are not ashamed to call ourselves Christians! And most frequently you will find that those persons excite it who ought to allay it. The Roman Pontiff was bound, since he esteemed himself to be the Vicar of Christ; the Cardinals were bound, as pillars of the Church; the Bishops were bound, as pastors, to lay down their lives for their sheep, which Jesus Christ both practised and taught, saying, "Bonus pastor animam suam ponit pro ovibus suis,"—"the good shepherd lays down his life for his sheep,"—and especially since the revenues paid to the Pope and these other prelates are given in order that they may protect and defend their subjects to the best of their ability in the exercise of their pastoral office. And now, not to lose a scrap of reputation, they raise all Christendom in arms. Pretty charity, indeed! Do I supply you with money to defend me, and do you therewith hire men to kill, rob, and destroy me? Where do you find that Jesus Christ commanded His people to go to war? Peruse all the gospels, peruse all the apostolic (canonical) epistles, you will find nothing but peace, concord, and unity, love and charity. When Jesus Christ was born, the angels did not sound an alarm, but they sang "Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax, hominibus bona voluntas." (Luke, ii. 14.) "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace and goodwill unto men." He gave us peace when He was born, and peace when He suffered martyrdom on the cross. How frequently did He enjoin peace and love upon His people! and, not even satisfied with this, He besought His Father that His people should be at one amongst themselves, as He with His Father. Could He seek greater conformity? He moreover willed that those who should follow His doctrine should not dress differently from each other—that they should neither eat nor fast differently, nor have any outward difference, unless it were in their works of love. Now, how can he be a Christian that does not observe this? And if he be not a Christian, how shall he be the Vicar of Christ? Where there is war, how can there be love? And this being the principal token of our faith, are you satisfied for its head to go so wide of it? It is no wonder if secular princes make war, since they as sheep follow their shepherd. If the head goes to war, the members must needs fight. I marvel that the Pope, who should be a mirror of all Christian virtues, and the pattern upon which we should all look—that having to

engage and maintain all in peace and concord, though at the peril of his own life, should seek to make war, to get and uphold things which Jesus Christ has commanded us to despise; and that there should be found amongst Christians any one to help him in a work so nefarious, execrable, and prejudicial to the honour of Christ. What blindness is this! We call ourselves Christians, and we live worse than Turks and brute beasts. If the Christian doctrine appear to us to be a farce, why do we not wholly give it up? that so, at least, we might not so frequently and deeply insult Him, from whom we have received so many benefits. But, since we know it to be true, and pride ourselves on being called Christians, and treat with contempt those who are not so, why do we not seek to be such in reality? why do we live as if there were neither faith nor law amongst us? The philosophers and wise men among the ancients, being Gentiles, despised riches; and do you now wish that the Vicar of Christ make war for that which those blind pagans set at naught? What will the people say, who know no more of Jesus Christ, save what they see in His Vicar? But that those philosophers, who, to attain the highest good which they placed in virtue, despised worldly things, were much better than Jesus Christ, since they see His Vicar hungering after, and making war to acquire that which the former despised. You here see what honour is done to Jesus Christ by His Vicars! you here see what honour His ministers do Him—those who live by His blood. Oh blood of Jesus Christ! so abused by Thy Vicars that this present one avails himself of Thee to extort moneys, in order to slay men, to murder Christians, to destroy cities, to burn towns, to dishonour maidens, to make so many widows, so many orphans, and such an accumulation of ills as war brings in its train! He that saw Lombardy, and even all Christendom, in former years in such great prosperity—such important and beautiful cities, such fine villas in their vicinity, such gardens, such merry-makings, such pleasures, such pastimes! The peasants got in their harvests, pastured their flocks, and built themselves dwellings; citizens and nobles, every one in his sphere, freely enjoyed his property, his inheritance, increased his rents, and many shared them amongst the poor. And after this accursed war began, how many cities do we see destroyed, how many towns and buildings burnt and depopulated, how many vineyards and orchards cut down, how many nobles, citizens, and peasants brought to squalid poverty! How many wives will have lost their husbands, how many fathers and mothers their beloved children, how many girls their lovers, how many virgins their virginity, how many wives have been violated in their husbands' presence, how many husbands killed in the presence of their wives, how many nuns have been dishonoured, and what multitudes of men have fallen throughout Christendom! And, what is worse, what numbers of souls have been hurried to hell. And we put up with it, as though it were a joke! And the Vicar of Jesus Christ, not yet content with all this, when we were at peace, comes to excite us to a new war at the time that we had the enemies of our faith at the door, in order that we should lose, as we have lost, the kingdom of Hungary, in order that he might utterly destroy what remained of Christendom! And his agents, not content with making war like others, devise new kinds of cruelty. They have outdone Nero; for neither Dionysius of Syracuse nor any subsequent tyrants, however cruel they may have been, who up to this time have swayed the world, ever invented such cruelties as the papal army perpetrated on the partisans of the Colonna family, after the breach of the truce made with Don Hugo de Moncada; that two Christians should take a young lady of noble birth, a virgin, by the legs, and hold her naked, head downwards, whilst a third should come with a halberd and cut her in halves

whilst living. Oh cruelty! oh impiety! oh execrable flagitiousness! What had that poor maiden done? And what had those pregnant women done, whose bellies they ripped up with their cruel swords, taking the babe yet warm from the womb, they spitted it and roasted it before the unhappy mother's eyes? Oh God, how wondrous that Thou shouldst suffer such horrors! Oh, mortal ears, that ye should hear of them! Oh, Chief Pontiff, that allowest such things to be done in thy name! Those innocent creatures, how could they have merited such treatment? We curse Herod, who killed babes but newly born, but thou killest them before they are born. Let them at least be born! Let them at least be baptized; surely thou wouldst not send their souls to perdition as well as take away their lives! What had those women done to deserve to die in such agonies, to see themselves disembowelled, and hear their children groan whilst roasting spitted at the fire? What had those unhappy fathers done, who died of grief at witnessing the sufferings of their children thus brought to an untimely end, and of their wretched mothers? What Jew, Turk, Moor, or Infidel will now ever wish to come to the faith of Jesus Christ, since our experience of His Vicar's works is such? Which of them will ever serve or honour him? And the Christians who know not Christian doctrine, what can they do but follow their pastor? And if every one should follow him, who will live amongst Christians? Does it appear to you, sir, that this is the mode of imitating Jesus Christ? Does it appear to you that this is the mode of teaching Christian people? Does it appear to you that this is the proper mode of interpreting sacred Scripture? Does it appear to you that this is the way of interceding by the Shepherd for his sheep? Does it appear to you that these are the works of Jesus Christ? Does it appear to you that this dignity was instituted to the end that the Christian body should be destroyed by it?¹

This portion of the apology for the Emperor concludes with the inculpation of the Pope as the cause of that awful calamity.

ARCHDEACON: I cannot answer you, for certainly on this head you have fulfilled your promise. I confess to you that I was greatly deceived with reference to it. Now I could wish that you would declare the causes why God has permitted the evils that have been perpetrated in Rome, for you say that they have redounded to the greater welfare of Christianity.

LACTANCIO: Since I have been able to satisfy you on the first head, I think, with God's help, that I shall be better able to satisfy you on the second.

The second part of the Dialogue, which treats of religious topics, commences thus:—

LACTANCIO: By way of accomplishing what I promised, you will in the first place admit that all the vices and all the wiles that the malice of man could devise, were congregated in that city of Rome which you with great propriety call holy, because it ought to be so.

ARCHDEACON: Certainly in that you are quite right. And God knows what I have always thought of it; and what my heart felt to see that city, which in all reason should have been a virtuous model to the whole world, so full of vices, dishonest dealing, frauds, and flagrant knavery; to see that unblushing sale of offices, benefices, bulls, indulgences, and dis-

¹ See "Dos Diálogos," 1850, pp. 344-355.

pensations, that it seemed to be a mockery of the Christian faith ; and that the ministers of the Church had no care, save that of inventing modes to extort money. The Pope had certain figures of the Apostles, which had been cast in gold : these he pawned, and then made an imposition to be paid by the issue of Bulls "*pro redemptione Apostolorum,*" for the redemption of the Apostles ! I cannot understand how they can act in a manner so derogatory and prejudicial to their honour, without being ashamed of themselves.

LACTANCIO : All who return thence say the same. I was aware of this very thing myself when I was there. Now come, were your children. . . .

ARCHDEACON : Don't insult me !

LACTANCIO : Pardon me ! for I had forgotten that you were a clergyman ; though there are many clergymen who do not reproach themselves because they have children. But this was not said, save by way of example.

ARCHDEACON : Well ; go on then.

LACTANCIO : If your children had a very vicious master, and you saw that they were infected with his vices and evil habits, what would you do ?

ARCHDEACON : I should frequently admonish him to amend ; and were he to refuse to do so, and had I authority or rule over him, I should correct him gently to make him amend, and afterwards by harsh means, if he would not do so by soft ones.

LACTANCIO : Well, see, God is the father of us all, and He gave us the Roman Pontiffs as masters, in order that we should learn from them, and those who are attached to them, to live like Christians. And as the vices of the Roman court were such that by them the children of God were infected with the same, for from the Roman court they not only did not learn Christian doctrine, but a style of life most opposed to it, God, seeing that neither the Prophets, nor the Evangelists, nor the numbers of holy doctors who wrote in past ages reprehending the vices and commending the virtues, succeeded in inducing those who lived ill to be converted and to live like Christians,—God, I say, devised new modes of leading them to do that which they ought to have done. And in addition to many good teachers and preachers whom He sent in days gone by, He sent, in our time, that excellent man Erasmus of Rotterdam, who has written various works, exposing the vices and frauds of the Roman court and of the whole ecclesiastical body with great eloquence, prudence, and modesty. It seems that what was said of them at Rome would at least have sufficed to have made those who lived there dissolutely amend. As this did not improve them at all, but on the contrary their vices and evil habits waxed worse daily, God deigned to employ another mode for their conversion, and permitted that monk Martin Luther to rise up, who not only lost all shame with reference to them by publishing their vices in the most unsparing manner, but drew away many nations from obedience to their prelates, so that if you would not be converted from a sense of shame, you might at least by the fear lest you should lose the revenues which you derived from Germany ; or from ambition, lest your sway should be so limited were Germany to remain, as it well-nigh is now, beyond the pale of your authority.

ARCHDEACON : Well, but this monk not only spoke ill of us, but he blasphemed God in a thousand written heresies.

LACTANCIO : What you say is true ; but had you remedied what he at first most justly complained of, and had you not provoked him with your excommunications, possibly he might never have gone the length of writing the heresies which he has written, and still writes ; nor would there have been that loss of bodies and souls in Germany which, owing to this, has been incurred.

ARCHDEACON : Look, sir, this remedy could not have been obtained

without a general Council, and it is said that it would not have done to have it convoked at that time, because it would have ruined the whole ecclesiastical body; so much so, that if the Council had been held at that time, we might all of us have gone directly to the poor-house, and the Pope himself along with us.

LACTANCIO: How so?

ARCHDEACON: All the States of the Empire presented a hundred grievances, which they say they suffered from the Apostolic See, and from many ecclesiastics, and they sought remedy in every instance.

LACTANCIO: Then why did you not remedy them?

ARCHDEACON: We never intended *that*. They said that the revenues of the Church, which had been given and instituted for the relief of the poor, should be so expended, and not in wars, nor upon vices, nor in pageants, as they are for the most part now expended. And they required that the people, and not the clergy, should have the administration of them. Moreover, they required that dispensations should not be granted for money, saying that the poor are the children of God as well as the rich, and that in granting dispensations for money, the poor, who, of right, ought to be the more privileged, are the more oppressed; whilst the rich, on the contrary, are the privileged.

LACTANCIO: Is it not so? Indeed, I have been, and frequently am, so astonished that I cannot express it. I see on the one hand that Christ commands poverty, and herein invites us to follow His own most perfect example; and, on the other hand, I see that from the majority of His ministers we can obtain nothing without money. At baptism, money! at confirmation, money! at marriage, money! for holy orders, money! at confession, money! at the sacrament, money! They will not give extreme unction, unless for money; they will not toll the bells, except for money; they will not bury you within the church, except for money; you shall not hear mass during interdict, except for money! So that Paradise appears to be closed to those who have no money. How is this, that the rich man is buried within the precincts of the church whilst the poor is buried in the churchyard? that the rich is admitted into the church, whilst they slam the door in the faces of the poor? that they make public prayers for the rich, whilst not a thought is entertained of the like on behalf of the poor? If Jesus Christ willed that His Church should be more partial to the rich than to the poor, why did He counsel us to follow poverty? Then, besides this, the rich man marries his first cousin or female relative, which the poor man cannot do, though it breaks his heart not to do it; the rich man eats meat in Lent, the poor man does not, though fish is so dear that he can only look at it, and long for it; the rich man gets indulgences by eight cart-loads at a time, which the poor man cannot do for want of money to pay for them. And you may find an infinite number of things of this sort. There are many who will tell you that to serve God you must make a fortune wherewith to found churches and monasteries, to have many masses and many trentenaries said, to buy many wax tapers to burn upon your catafalque. Jesus Christ counsels me to despise and neglect all earthly things to follow Him, and you counsel me to seek them. You will render me very great service by telling me what reason they have for acting as they do; for may God so save me, as I neither know nor can attain to do so.¹

What, however, after all, were the vices of politicians,—fraud—treachery—lying—perjury—murder—crimes against

¹ See "Dos Diálogos," 1850, pp. 385-393.

the property and persons of individuals, to the vices of the religious teachers, the theologians and clergy, from the heads of the Sacred College down to the humbler parish priests! The vices of the body were augmented by the powers of a refined and spiritual intellect. With them, the souls of men were the prizes played for, and their acquaintance with the game was *inspired to higher issues of evil* by a knowledge of what was holy and good, which their hypocrisy transformed into a *science* of moral tyranny, which brought a blight over the fairest flowers of paradise. What the state-craft of the age carried out upon the persons, the corruption of the hierarchy applied to the souls of mankind.

Tell me, says Valdés, by the mouth of—

LACTANCIO : Tell me, which do you hold to be of greater value, a soul or a body ?

ARCHDEACON : Beyond comparison—the soul.

LACTANCIO : How many souls, then, have you sold in this world ?

ARCHDEACON : How is it possible to sell souls ?

LACTANCIO : Have you not read in the Apocalypse that, amongst other kinds of merchandise, souls are enumerated ? He that sells a bishopric—he that sells a benefice with cure of souls—does not such a man sell the souls of his subjects ?

ARCHDEACON : What you say is most true. Certainly, these things never appeared to me to be correct; nor that of collation to benefices, reserving a yearly charge, with a power of redemption upon the payment of so much per cent., which is a mere attempt to overreach God.

LACTANCIO : In good sooth, an attempted self-deception. But how many souls have you seen disposed of in this mode, staked upon a throw of the dice ?

ARCHDEACON : Innumerable.

LACTANCIO : Now, you see, and from this day forth you will better perceive, your error, and you will not wonder that those soldiers who live by plunder should sell [ecclesiastical] officials, since you sold benefices; nor bishops, since you sold bishoprics. And the one is by so much the graver offence than the other, as a soul is of more value than a body. On the contrary, you ought to be glad that they did not sell a cardinal.

ARCHDEACON : Surely it sufficed that they were ransomed, and that their houses were compounded for, not one in Rome escaping free.

LACTANCIO : You are unwillingly reminded of the purses which you have emptied with your compositions; but let it be no cause of wonderment to you if they now empty yours. Have you not read in Rev. xviii. 6, 7, 8: "Reward her even as she rewarded you, and double unto her double according to her works; in the cup which she hath filled, fill to her double. How much she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow give her; for strong is the Lord who judgeth her." What think you? in very truth, these are God's judgments.

ARCHDEACON : My flesh quakes whilst I listen to you. But tell me, to what end, or why, the loss of so much money?—for it is affirmed that fifteen millions of ducats barely represent the amount raised by ransoms and compositions during the sack of Rome.

LACTANCIO : And do you call this loss ? By my troth, I call it gain !

ARCHDEACON : Gain ! How so ?

LACTANCIO : Because all the wealth of Christendom has for many years found its way to Rome, and has been consumed there ; and now the tide begins to turn.

ARCHDEACON : How is that ?

LACTANCIO : The money that was got by suits, by commutations, by intrigues, by benefices, by reserved charges, by corruption, by first-fruits, by Bulls and by the dispatch of Bulls, by indulgences, by the confessional, by compositions, by dispensations, by excommunications, by anathematizations, by fulminations, by aggravations and by re-aggravations, and even by canonizations and other similar exactions : these funds are now taken by the soldiers, as labourers, to spread them over the whole earth.

ARCHDEACON : And what black labourers they are ! Just look : what profit could be incident to such destruction of that city, that Rome cannot be restored in five centuries ?

LACTANCIO : God be pleased so to order it.

ARCHDEACON : What ?

LACTANCIO : That Rome may never again become the seat of the vices that enslaved it, and that there never hereafter may reign there so little charity, love, and fear of God !

ARCHDEACON : Well, but the sacred palace, with those painted chambers and halls, how could they deserve to have suffered, what moved the greatest pity ?—for they were first turned into stables for horses, and then burnt.

LACTANCIO : Assuredly so. Would it have been right that, the whole city being made to suffer, that part of it should have escaped where all the evil was devised ?

ARCHDEACON : But who shall tell how the church of the Prince of the Apostles, and all the other temples and churches and monasteries of Rome, were treated and sacked—so that neither gold or silver, nor indeed anything else of value, was left them from the plunder and destruction of those soldiers. And can it be possible that God should be pleased to have His own churches thus treated and sacked ? and that objects dedicated to His service should be plundered thus ?

LACTANCIO : Now, look you, sir : this is a transaction so ugly and so bad that it necessarily appears evil to every one ; but if you will study it, there is such superstition in connection with these objects devoted to God, whereby the people are prejudiced, that it causes me no surprise that God permits this, and much more, in order that there be some limit set with reference to them. The merchant thinks that, after he has amassed great riches, he shall be pardoned all the ills that he has done, and yet will do, if he build a church or a monastery, or if he should give a lamp, or a cup, or something of the sort, to some church or monastery ; and not only does he deceive himself in this, imagining that he does so for God, but in believing that to be done in His service, which is more frequently done out of ostentation, or from vain worldly glory, as is proved by the engraving of the arms of each giver upon the objects given, or upon the building erected ; relying upon which, it appears to him no longer necessary that he should live like a Christian ; and though this be excessively wrong, they do not blush to countenance it who profit by it, never considering the injury thereby done to the Christian religion.

ARCHDEACON : And how so an injury ?

LACTANCIO : Does it not appear to you an injury, and a very great one too, that what many of the heathen attained to know of God by the mere light of nature, we Christians, taught by the same God, should remain ignorant of ? They attained to know that it was not true service to God to offer Him anything in its nature perishable ; they attained to know that

to God, as incorporeal, nothing could be presented as a principal offering, or as an object very grateful to Him, that was material. They held that he did not know what God is who thought that God delighted in possessing that which good and wise men did not wish to have, such, for instance, as jewels and riches; whilst we Christians are now so blind that we think God is greatly served by things corporeal and perishable.

ARCHDEACON: Then you mean to say, that no service is rendered to God by erecting churches, nor the presentation of chalices and similar articles?

LACTANCIO: I say that he more truly renders service to God who adorns his soul with the virtues He has commanded, in order that He may come and dwell in it—than he who builds a church, although it be made of gold and as large as that of Toledo, for God to dwell in, keeping Him by his vices banished from his soul, although his intentions were the best in the world. And I say that it is very wrong to suppose that God is pleased by my offering gold or silver, if I do so to get praise, or from any other vain motive. I say that we should render God better service were that which we give to His churches, His dead temples, diverted to the use of the poor, to relieve their wants, since we know that they are God's living temples.

ARCHDEACON: Thus there would be neither churches nor ornaments for God's service.

LACTANCIO: Would there be no churches? On the contrary, I think there would be many more; for there being many good Christians, wherever any two or three of them were assembled in His name, then there would be a church. And, moreover, though the wicked should build neither churches nor monasteries, do you think there would be no good men who would do so? And let us note it, what is this world but a very beautiful church wherein God dwells? What is the sun but a lighted taper for the illumination of the ministers of the Church? What is the moon, what are the stars, but candles which burn in God's church? Do you want any other church? Does not the Apostle say, "the temple of God is holy, which temple are ye"? Do you want candles to light up this church? You have the Spirit, you have understanding, you have reason. Does it not occur to you that these candles are excellent ones?

ARCHDEACON: Yes; but no one sees this.

LACTANCIO: And you, have you seen God? Mark, brother, since God is invisible, it is His will that He be chiefly honoured with things invisible. He does not accept heavy payments, nor is God satisfied with gold or silver; He does not need such things, since He is Lord of all. He desires the heart. And would you see this? Is not God almighty? Were He to will it, could He not in one moment make a hundred thousand temples, richer and more sumptuous than that of Solomon?¹

Valdés goes on to show in what manner, by the rapacity of the soldiery, avarice prepared its own punishment in the plunder of the clergy, the almost exclusive possessors of the wealth of Rome, and in the spoliation by the Germans of the relics and sacred treasures of the churches, by which the simple and superstitious people had been so long deluded and drained of their money. The Archdeacon, enumerating the horrors incident to the sacking of Rome, complains to Lactancio that the soldiers, having opened the sepulchres within the churches in order to plunder

¹ See "Dos Diálogos," 1850, pp. 419-428.

them, the stench was such that nobody could enter the churches, to which his friend replies :—

LACTANCIO : Considering what sums the clergy had received as burial fees, the stench ought not to be intolerable to *them*.

ARCHDEACON : You jest!

LACTANCIO : Upon my life, I do not ; and to speak the truth, as the clergy are not ashamed to levy tribute on the dead, conduct held by the heathen to be most degrading, so neither do they blush to enter the churches to pray for them.

ARCHDEACON : Well, you thought that you had disposed of all ; but, as the proverb runs, that which is the harder to justify we defend last, and I have kept the gravest charge for the last.

LACTANCIO : Well, bring it forward.

ARCHDEACON : There were no relics they did not plunder, to tear away with sacrilegious hands the gold and silver in which they were enshrined. The most abominable spectacle that the world ever witnessed was to see those shameless wretches enter places which bishops, cardinals, nay, popes themselves, scarce presume to tread, and carry forth those heads and arms of the apostles and canonized saints. I know not what consequences may be brought upon Christendom by audacity and irreverence so abominable!

LACTANCIO : This was rude ; but tell me, having got off the silver and gold, what did they do with the bones ?

ARCHDEACON : The Germans threw some of them into the cemeteries or burial-grounds ; they carried some to the palace of the Prince of Orange and of the other generals. But the Spaniards, as a nation more religious, carried all to the palace of Giovanni d'Urbino.

LACTANCIO : Were they thus despoiled ?

ARCHDEACON : You scarce believe it ! I myself saw a basket-full of them in the residence of Giovanni d'Urbino.

LACTANCIO : Let us see ; do you hold that to be the gravest fact ?

ARCHDEACON : Clearly it is so.

LACTANCIO : Come now : is not a living man of greater value than a hundred dead ones ?

ARCHDEACON : Yes.

LACTANCIO : Then the death of the four thousand men of which you spoke was a matter much more grave than plundering the relics.

ARCHDEACON : And how so ?

LACTANCIO : For the relics are dead bodies, and the men were alive ; and you have admitted that one of these was worth a hundred of the other.

ARCHDEACON : You are right ; but these bodies were holy, and those others not.

LACTANCIO : So much the worse ; the souls of these saints feel nothing of the ill-treatment done to their bodies, for they are actually in bliss ; whilst these others experience the reverse ; for, dying in sin, they go to hell, where both soul and body shall die together.

ARCHDEACON : It is so ; but, nevertheless, it is shocking to witness in our days an audacity and an irreverence so great.

LACTANCIO : What you say is most true. But mark you : God has not permitted this without cause, on account of the frauds that are practised with these relics to get money out of the simple ; for many relics are to be found, which they will show you at two or three different places. At Dura, in Germany, they will show you the head of St. Anne, our Lord's grandmother, and they will show you the very same at Lyons, in France. It is clear that they lie either at one place or at the other, unless they

mean to say that our Lady had two mothers, or St. Anne two heads. And, it being a lie, is it not a great evil that they seek to delude the people, and present to their veneration the dead body of one who possibly died as a criminal on the gallows? Now let us see: which do you hold to be the greater inconvenience, that the body of St. Anne be not discovered, or that they cause you to worship the body of some vulgar woman?

ARCHDEACON: I had rather that they found neither the one nor the other, than that they cause me to adore a sinner instead of a saint.

LACTANCIO: Would you not prefer that the body of St. Anne, which they represent as being both at Dura and at Lyons, should be buried together in one vault, and should never be shown, than that they should deceive so many with one of them?

ARCHDEACON: Yes, most certainly.

LACTANCIO: Well, you will find that there are numberless relics throughout the world in this predicament; and the loss would not be great were they not in existence. Would to God that He might remedy this Himself! I have seen Our Lord's foreskin at Rome, at Burgos, and likewise at the church of Our Lady at Antwerp; and the head of St. John the Baptist, at Rome, and at Amiens, in France. Then, as to the Apostles, were we to reckon them up, although they were but twelve, and that one of them has not been discovered, whilst another is in the Indies, yet we shall find more than twenty-four of them in different parts of the world. Eusebius writes, that the nails of the cross were three; that St. Helena, the Emperor Constantine's mother, threw one into the Adriatic to allay a tempest; that she had the second made into a helmet for her son; and that of the third she made a bit for her horse: and now there is one at Rome, another at Milan, another at Cologne, another at Paris, another at Lyons, with numberless others. Again, were I to say, that if all the pieces of the cross which they pretend to show you throughout Christendom as parts of it, were collected together, they would make a cart-load, I should speak the truth. The teeth which Our Lord shed when a child exceed five hundred, reckoning only those which are shown in France as such! Then, the Virgin Mother's milk, Mary Magdalen's hair, and St. Christopher's teeth, form relics innumerable. Now, beyond the uncertainty incident to these objects, it makes you blush to see what is palmed upon the people. I was shown the other day, in a very ancient monastery, the catalogue of the relics which they possessed, and saw represented there, amongst other things, "*a bit of the brook Kedron!*" I asked whether it was water, or one of the pebbles of that stream, which they had; and they answered me, that relics were not to be a subject for jokes. There was another item: "earth from the spot where the angel appeared to the shepherds;" and I dared not inquire what they understood by it. It would make you die of laughing were I to enumerate the other things, each rivalling the other in absurdity and impiety which they are wont to represent themselves as possessing: as, for instance, a part of the Angel Gabriel's wing; such as some of Magdalen's penitence; the breath of the mule and of the ox; the shadow of St. James's staff; of the feathers of the Holy Spirit; of the robe of the Trinity; and of others similar to these more than can be reckoned. I will only add, that they showed me, a few days since, in a collegiate church, one of St. Saviour's ribs. Whether there have been any Saviour save Jesus Christ, and whether He left any rib here or not, let them see to it.

ARCHDEACON: It is, as you say, rather a subject for laughter than for tears.

LACTANCIO: You are right. But I come to other things which, whether

uncertain, or even if certain, are stumbling-blocks to cause men to fall into idolatry, and to hold them in such veneration that even in Aix-la-Chapelle there are some old breeches which they say belonged to St. Joseph. They are only exhibited once in five years, when multitudes go to see them, as something divine. And we make them of such account, and hold them in such veneration, that if there are exhibited, within the same church, the slippers of St. Christopher in a golden recess on the one side, and the Holy Sacrament on the other, in comparison with which all relics are less than nothing, the people prostrate themselves preferentially before the slippers, rather than before the Holy Sacrament; and though this be a great impiety, they who ought to rebuke it do not rebuke, but look on with much complaisance, because of the profit they make by the very subtle devices they have to that end invented. Now, what think you? Which involves the greater inconvenience:—the total absence of relics upon earth, or that the public be thus befooled with them?¹

Valdés thus expresses his sentiments about the heathenish abuse of the worship of images:—

ARCHDEACON: May God so help me, as you have satisfactorily settled all my doubts. And it surprises me to see how blind we are in all these things that transpire outwardly, and how regardless, too, of what transpires inwardly.

LACTANCIO: And, indeed, you have great cause for astonishment; for, in truth, there is the greatest reason to regret the erroneous notions which the people are led to entertain. How far we are from being Christians! how opposed are our works to the doctrine of Jesus Christ! how laden are we with superstitions! And, according to my views, the whole proceeds from the pestilential avarice and pestiferous ambition which now reign among Christians more absolutely than they ever previously did. Why, think you, is it stated that a wooden image goes on an expedition to liberate captives, and that when it returns it is all of a sweat, unless it be to allure simpletons to make offerings to that image, which offerings they who make that statement presently convert to their own use. They who thus practise delusions upon the people have not the fear of God before their eyes. As though the Virgin Mary were obliged, in order to liberate a captive, to take a wooden figure with her. The thing, being in itself absurd, is believed by the vulgar, upon the authority of those who declare it. And thus, others would have you believe that if you cause so many masses to be said, with so many candles, at the time of the second anguish, you shall find what you have lost. Sinful man that I am! can you fail to see that some devilish machination is combined with that superstition? Well, then, since there is such a combination, would it not be better that you should lose all you have in the world rather than allow anything so sacred to be blended with something so baleful? Of the same character are the names which you wear round your necks as charms attached to either man or beast, to avert death by fire or water, by the arms of adversaries, by enchantments, or by philters, as they are ordinarily called. I know not whence this excessive blindness has been introduced into Christendom, so that we have well-nigh fallen into heathenism. He that would honour a saint, let him labour to follow his saint-like virtues. We, nowadays, instead of doing so, hold bull-fights on his feast-day, and practise other levities. We say that we hold it devout to kill four bulls upon St. Bartholomew's day, and that were we not to kill them we should have cause to fear that he would lay our vines waste with hail! What greater

¹ See "Dos Diálogos," 1850, pp. 441-448.

heathenism than this could you adduce? What different emotion do I experience whether I kill four bulls as a devout act upon St. Bartholomew's day, or that I sacrifice four bulls to St. Bartholomew? I am not scandalized by the public recreation of the bull-fight, but to me it does appear pernicious that the public should think that they thereby rendered service either to God or His saints. Would you see another similar heathenism no less glaring than this? Look how we have distributed amongst our saints the offices held by the gods of the heathen. The god Mars has been superseded by St. James and St. George, Neptune by St. Elmo, Bacchus by St. Martin, Æolus by St. Barbara, Venus by the Magdalen. The duties of Æsculapius have been distributed amongst many: St. Cosmo and St. Damianus are put in charge of common diseases; St. Roch and St. Sebastian of the plague; St. Lucy of the eyes; St. Apollonia of the teeth; St. Agatha of teats; whilst St. Anthony and St. Aloy patronize beasts; SS. Simon and Judas perjurers; St. Blasius those who sneeze. I know not to what these inventions and this repartition of offices tend, unless it be to give us a wholly Pagan character, to divert us from that love to Jesus Christ which we ought to cherish for Him alone, by giving us the habit of asking that of others which, in truth, He alone can give us; and hence it comes to pass that some think because they rehearse a mass of psalms, or handfuls of rosaries; some because they don the habit of a Franciscan, or that of a Merced (which is a royal and military order for the liberation of captives); some because they do not eat meat on Wednesdays; some because they dress in blue or orange, that they, forsooth, come short in nothing of being very good Christians: retaining, on the other hand, their envy, rancour, avarice, ambition, and other similar vices, as fully as though they had never heard tell what it is to be a Christian.¹

These extracts sufficiently express the nature of the *Diálogo de Lactancio*. The precautions taken to fence it round with the pale of Romish orthodoxy were not sufficient for its protection. While only circulated privately, in manuscript, amongst the author's friends, the apostolic nuncio to the court of Spain, Baldessar Castiglione, procured a copy of it, after much diligence, through his secretary, as we may infer from Alfonso de Valdés' own words. Having read it, he immediately denounced it, together with the writer, to the Emperor, as at once libellous to the person of the Pontiff, and profane and impious towards the Church. The Nuncio without doubt was angry at not having obtained previous notice of the departure of the imperial army to Rome, to give timely notice to his master, the Pope; whereupon he plotted the ruin of the secretary Valdés, of whom, as may well be imagined, he had requested information in a friendly and familiar manner, on account of their mutual affection, and prosecuting the same studies. But duty imposed silence upon the one in reference to that which the other unreasonably desired to learn from him. The Nuncio's denunciation coming to the ears of Alfonso, he hastened to avow himself the author of

¹ See "Dos Diálogos," 1850, pp. 460-464.

the Dialogue, because he had been informed that the Inquisition was about to proceed immediately against the person of his brother Juan, who held no public office; and thus the process was begun against them both. Alfonso, as a generous brother and co-operator in the object, did not deny the charge, knowing that Juan, being a private gentleman of the court, would be exposed to persecution, whilst he believed himself protected by his high official position, and hence desired to attract all the odium on himself rather than on his brother.

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY [ALFONSO] VALDÉS TO THE COUNT
BALDESSAR CASTIGLIONE, NÚNCIO IN SPAIN.

MOST REVEREND AND ILLUSTRIOUS SEÑOR,—Before I left this city for Valencia, your Reverence sent M. Gabriel, your secretary, to speak to me about a little work which I wrote last year. I reported frankly to him what had occurred in the matter. This answer he afterwards told me had satisfied your Reverence. It is indeed true that I have not since read it, nor added to, nor erased anything in it, for my intention was not to publish it. Notwithstanding, from the want of fidelity which friends usually observe in similar cases, those to whom I have communicated it have practised so little reserve about it, that more copies have been taken of it than I wished. Within these few days past, on the one hand M. Gabriel, and on the other Oliverjo, have with much pains sought to procure this Dialogue. In seeking to know their object, I have discovered what your Reverence is doing against me on account of this book, and that you have informed his Majesty that there are many things in it against the Christian religion, and against the decisions of councils approved by the Church; and especially, that it asserts that it is right to take away, and to break, the images in the churches, and destroy the relics, and that your Reverence had spoken to me about this, but that I would not retract.

As in this and other things I feel my conscience quite clear, I cannot but complain of your Reverence, that you treat a thing of this kind with so much prejudice to my honour, while at the same time you profess to acknowledge me as your servant, a thing I should never have believed of your Reverence; and that you say, besides, that you have often remonstrated with me, and that I still persist.

Your Reverence knows very well that you have never spoken to me on this subject, but that of which you sent word by M. Gabriel. Indeed I do not know what perseverance or obstinacy your Reverence has seen in me; but this is of little moment. In saying that I speak against the decisions of the Church to the injury of images and relics, it is evident you have not seen the book; for if you had seen it, I cannot believe that you would have said such a thing; and I cannot but complain of your Reverence for accusing a man by hearsay of being a heretic, whom you appear to consider as your servant.

Not to waste many words, I am certain that your Reverence has been very ill-informed; and for this reason I say that, if your Lordship complain of me because I speak against the Pope, I answer that the subject obliged me to do so. Desiring to excuse the Emperor, I could not avoid accusing the Pope, of whose dignity, however, I speak as every good and faithful Christian ought to speak; and the guilt which might be personally brought

home to him, I try as much as possible to ward off from himself, and to cast it on his ministers.

And if all this be not satisfactory, I confess to have gone somewhat too far; and to please your Lordship I am prepared to correct it, since, indeed, it cannot be suppressed. But if your Reverence mean to say that in this Dialogue there is anything contrary to the Christian religion and to the decisions of the Church, this would touch my honour too closely, and I entreat you to consider it well first, because I am ready to maintain that which I have written; and that your Lordship may not think me so presumptuous as, perhaps, I have been described to you, it is well you should know that, before I showed this Dialogue to others, Señor Juan Aleman saw it, then Don Juan Manuel, and afterwards the Chancellor, in order that, as prudent and sagacious men of business, they might correct and improve what they thought wrong. By the advice of Don Juan I altered two things. Not content with this, because it contained points relating to religion—and I neither am, nor presume to be, a theologian—I showed it to Dr. Coronel, who, after having read it twice, advised me to alter some things which, though not irreligious, might give rise to calumny.

I showed it afterwards to the Chancellor of the University of Alcalá, to the Master Miranda, to Dr. Carasco, and other distinguished theologians of that university, who praised it, and all desired to have a copy of it. Afterwards it was seen by Master Fray Alfonso de Vives, Fray Diego de la Cadena, Fray Jn. Carillo, and finally by the Bishop Cabrero. They all praised and approved, and with one voice entreated me to print it, with offers to defend me against any one who ventured to blame it. But this I never wished to do, because I did not look at it in the same light as they did. Thus your Reverence may see that he who has so many and such distinguished sponsors might venture to assert that there are no errors in the work. I have given your Reverence this long account in order that, knowing all that has passed in this matter, you may proceed with more wariness and consideration. If, nevertheless, you determine to persist in this action, I beg only one thing of your Reverence, that you will not on this account cease to consider me as your servant; for, indeed, I should feel the contrary to be a great loss. For the rest, I have confidence in God and in my innocence that I shall in the end come out of it with more honour than disgrace.—I am your Reverence's very faithful servant,

ALFONSO DE VALDÉS.¹

This letter was written towards the end of August, 1528, at Madrid, before the court moved to Valencia.

The reply of the Papal Nuncio:—

COUNT BALDESSAR CASTIGLIONE TO SECRETARY VALDÉS.

SEÑOR VALDÉS,—It appears right to me, being desirous of replying to your letter, to begin by discoursing of other matter, and to tell you of all that has occurred to me with reference to the subject upon which you address me. Hence I say that, whilst the court was at Burgos (from 20th October, 1527, until 20th February, 1528), friends of mine, and gentlemen, told me that you had composed a Dialogue, in which were many things derogatory to the Pope, and not very Christian. And because it appeared to me to be my duty to investigate the matter and to remedy it to the best of my ability, I endeavoured to get a sight of the book containing this Dialogue, but could not. Afterwards I sought to do so at Valencia and at Monzon; but with all these efforts I could not get to see a copy of it, of which I felt glad; for, being unable to see it, I thought that it had been suppressed by your own orders, that no one had a copy of

¹ "Diálogo de la Lengua," Madrid, año de 1860, pp. 9-15.

it, and that you had withdrawn it from publication. But it has very recently been intimated to me here in Madrid, and that by many, that numerous copies of such a work had been taken, and that it was intended to print it for transmission to Italy, Germany, and various other countries; whilst all who have spoken to me respecting it concur as to its being of the worst character, and that I have been culpably lukewarm in not denouncing a paper so scandalous to the Church and to the Pope, written, as it were, under my eye, and more especially as I hold office under his Holiness. The book at length fell into my hands, and I read it through. I have critically examined it more than once, and it has excited that displeasure which, in my opinion, all good men ought to feel, and especially those who profess to be true Christians, servants of the Pope and of the Emperor. And this I say in order to quash one of the two complaints against me in your letter, to wit, that I speak evil of your book upon hearsay, without having seen it. Then your other complaint against me is that I have informed the Emperor, and have said that there are many things in your book against the Christian religion and against the ratified decrees of Councils, and that I have said that I have spoken to you upon the subject, and that you would not retract. You also say that you cannot refrain from complaining of me, and say you never could have believed that, whilst I continued to treat you as an intimate personal friend, I could bring forward a matter so greatly to the prejudice of your honour. To this I reply that you ought to have believed that, if the respect which you owe me has not diverted you from an evil course, respect for you ought not to have diverted me from a good one, which I am impelled to take, both by office and duty; moreover, I avow that I never intend to hold friendly relations with those who are not good men. But I discharged all the claims of friendship, and possibly more than I owed, when, as observed in your letter, I sent my secretary Gabriel to admonish you and to let you know that it had come to my ears that you were engaged in writing something not good, and degrading to the Pope; and that I begged you to consider it well, and not to do anything that would entail inconvenience on yourself. But, whether you relinquished your design or persevered in it, is to be seen by the work itself. Now, coming to your statement that, if I am prepared to affirm that there is aught in that Dialogue opposed to the Christian religion or to ecclesiastical decrees, forasmuch as this would touch your honour, I should first look well to it, for that you are ready to maintain all you have written, I answer and say that I have looked at it, and, after having well considered it, have told the Emperor that there are many sentiments in it utterly impious and opposed to the decrees of the Church, and that, beyond the prejudice thereby done to the Christian religion, you are specially injurious to the person of the Pope, for that you most unjustly seek to inculpate him falsely, for which you deserve severe chastisement. I have, moreover, supplicated his Majesty to deign to read it, that he may know the truth of my statement. If this, therefore, be with you a ground of complaint, it gives me little concern; for I know that all good men who shall read your book will see that I am quite right, and will recognize in it your great malice and little prudence, combined with such confusion, that you yourself, not to say others, do not know what is intended to be conveyed by it, unless it be that, impelled by peculiar malignity, you desired to spit forth venomous slanders inwardly cherished by you, thinking that the spirit of the times was such that even worse would be acceptable. And, because the main object of your book is to speak evil of the Pope, which is apparent to every one, and you yourself confess it in your letter when you say that you exceeded the bounds of discretion in defaming his Holiness,

being constrained to do so by the subject: I think that this alone may suffice to apprise any one that I had a legitimate cause to notify to the Emperor this fact and the character of the rest of your book. And because evils never before heard of were practised in this sacking of Rome, among other modes of calumniating his Holiness employed by you, it appeared good to you to say that the ills wrought by the Pope and the Roman clergy greatly exceeded those done by the soldiery, and to insist upon it that they proceeded from papal guilt and by divine permission, whilst you never suggest what might have been said in reprobation of the misconduct of the soldiers, unless it be that such is customary in warfare and a judgment of God, whilst the misconduct of the clergy was still worse. Thus, by your inordinate desire to aggravate the latter, which you would falsely attribute to the Pope and the Roman court, you commit yourself to the extent of impugning Divine worship, Christian rites and ceremonies, and of slandering all who reverence crucifixes, images of Christ and of our Lady, and the relics of Saints, and to excuse those who have laid waste Rome and have outraged the Church and the Pope; you praise incendiarism, havoc, torture, sacrilege, murder, barbarity, and impiety. But, forasmuch as your purpose is so abhorrent to reason and opposed to God and nature, I think you never can have persuaded one good man, though you plume yourself highly upon your great eloquence, and glory in your faculty of distinguishing and recognizing every diversity of argument, notwithstanding you are but a youth.—“*Diálogo de la Lengua*,” ed. 1860, pp. 17-21.

P.37. But assuming that the soldiers are impious and perfidious, lawless and without the fear of God, that many of them are heretics and Jews, and that men must bear this misfortune as they are able—yet that in the very palace of the Emperor, a prince so much the Christian, so very just and virtuous, there should be found a secretary who should dare to excuse acts of impiety so heinous, and to show himself so open an enemy of Christian rites and ceremonies, appears to me a monstrosity so intolerable, that even when contemplating it I dare not credit it. And yet it is true that you are that monster, for you not only excuse it, but even praise it. . . .

P.39. If with reference to the sentiments expressed in the Dialogue you say that you do not commend the arguments employed by the disputants, I reply that the academical mode of treating a subject in dialogue is not unknown to us, and that we know that it was ever the habit of the Platonists to contradict, and not to affirm anything. But your style of writing has not been so cautious, but that it is palpable which of the disputants' sentiments you adopt, and which that is in whose mouth you put a thousand foolish utterances, in order that they may be the more easily refuted; and it appears that Lactancio's sentiments are yours, and that yours are Lactancio's; and there will henceforth be no impropriety in changing your name, and in calling you Lactancio.

P. 42. For this reason I hold your argument to be analogous to the former ones, and to the doctrine you manifest a desire to follow, in which, indeed, there is, so to speak, a great odour of Lutheranism recognizable, and of the opinions of other heretics, who indeed were more lettered than you, but whose wills, probably, were not more depraved than yours. True it is, that you seek to cover and adorn your sentiments by writing the Dialogue in Spanish, and in disguised terms; but, unable to sustain your dissimulation to the end, you say that God *permitted* Luther to act his part, softening down your malignant hypocrisy by the term “*permission* ;” and it would seem that you assign the blame attaching to Luther's works to God, whilst you are so incensed against the Pope for having excommunicated him, that you censure both the Pope and the prelates for it; &c. &c.

P. 53. I hold myself greatly wronged by your supposing that I could tolerate either you, or any one else, in speaking so irreverently of the Pope as you have done, I being a Christian, and peculiarly his Holiness's servant; and marvel that you should ever have believed that I ought to hold your honour—which, as you were born of Jewish parents, was lost before you were born—in higher estimation than that of the Pope, than that of the Christian religion, and than my own personal honour. You say, likewise, you know not what obstinacy I can have seen in you, admitting that I sent my secretary Gabriel to request you to desist from following the course upon which you had entered, which, whether you have done so, the book itself testifies, concerning which (you state) I cannot be well informed. There is nothing in it that is not bad; but truly I can be informed of your malevolence, of your attempt to deceive in this matter, and of your telling lies, which is your habit; for, after having published the book, and having sent it into Germany, Portugal, and various other countries, you say you are willing to correct it; and, combining ignorance with malignity, say, that you are prepared to do so, for my sake, as if you would do me this pleasure from personal courtesy and kindness, and not because reason or duty demands it. Then, presently, you add, that you will abide by what you have written. Now, see how well your abiding by what you have written agrees with your correction of it. But I will not deceive you: I tell you that I shall again speak to the Emperor, and I am certain that his Majesty will so publicly rebuke you that every one will know that your sacrilegious pamphlet—for you style it a pamphlet—is published without his consent; and we shall see whether the excuses you make will stand you in good stead; and you will see that they who chastise you (the Inquisitors) will be better able, and with greater warrant, to say that justice has compelled them to expose that haughty arrogance which prompted you to declare that the subject of the work compelled you mendaciously to calumniate him whom, as head of the Church, you, had you been a Christian, would have been obliged to honour and obey as such. And were you born under such evil stars, and were you formed by nature of a constitution so perverse that you cannot refrain from slandering and lying, from yielding to your instinct, declaring the fixed malignity of your heart, but which without utterance is visibly legible in the paleness of your pestilent countenance, and in those venomous eyes and forced smiles which ever seem to breathe treachery, you ought to take some less important person as your mark, and to do as they are wont who, exercising themselves for their amusement in archery, place their target in an unfrequented spot; but you have placed yours where it seemed you could do the greatest possible injury: all the arrows were aimed at the heart, which, probably glancing off, will recoil on yourself. I hope this may suffice by way of reply to that part of your letter wherein you state that the subject of the book compelled you to speak evil of the Pope. By way of conclusion to what I have said, I assert that it was wrong to take such a subject; nor should you marvel if I have been unable to write without great irritation and vexation; for it appears to me intolerable that such a vile worm as you should have venom enough to presume to frustrate all the efforts of those who aim at the pacification of Christendom, an object I desire beyond everything else on earth.

P. 61. And since it has been your purpose to accuse and speak ill of the Pope, that intention can have proceeded from nothing else than the hatred you bear to the Christian religion; but concerning this I shall cease to reason further, leaving you to justify yourself to God, and to those whose province it is to compel you to do so (*viz.*, to the Inquisition).

P. 62. I fear you are one of those who would not wish to see the

troubles of Christendom brought to a close; and I am at a loss to know to what to attribute this, unless it be to your native bias. Truly, I do not think that God has permitted you to be what you are, that any good should spring from your malevolence, as you say He did in the instance of Luther. I trust you will be unable to accomplish your evil designs, and that as the Emperor has begun to raise Christianity from its ruins by the liberation of the Pope, so he will go on to serve Him, as an acknowledgment of the many favours he has received from Him; and that his conduct will be such, that he shall be worthy to receive yet many greater ones, associated with such earthly glory as has never yet been attained by any prince. Whilst you, with other malignant spirits, ministers of the devil, shall stand by gnawing yourselves from hatred and envy at witnessing aught good in the world. And forasmuch as you, having in your letter previously said that you do not know what doggedness or obstinacy I can have seen in you, affirm that you are prepared to maintain what you have written, it excites in me no wonder, that in addition to your other virtues you should still be most obstinate and determined ever to persist in evil, your actions corresponding with your utterances; nor do I know the need of further witness with reference to the life of the person who excuses sacrileges, homicides, incendiarisms, and devastation; who states that the destruction of Rome and of the Church is for the interest of Christianity, and commends those who have held the Pope and Cardinals so ignominiously imprisoned, that, it having at one time been feared that the Turks might do so, the minds of all good Christians quaked. And since you are determined to maintain what you have written, my imagination attempts to realize who are to be the judges before whom you would fain prove that he who holds the Pope and Cardinals imprisoned is not only not exposed to excommunication, but merits high praise, and renders God great service, to whom all Christendom owes a debt of obligation; and that the canonist who does not acquiesce in it, shows but little judgment; and that for this reason it is much better that the Pope remain in the Emperor's custody rather than elsewhere; and that great evils will follow upon his liberation; and that, in holding him prisoner, the prudent and wise, knowing that it is for the welfare of Christendom, will regard it as an act of consummate wisdom, and will praise his Majesty's prudence and virtue; and that only the simple and ignorant, whose false judgment it is impossible to satisfy, will be they who will censure it; so that, according to you, all those persons who have petitioned the Emperor to liberate the Pope, and those who have been displeased at his imprisonment, and at the desolation of Rome and Italy, are all foolish and ignorant, judging falsely; whilst the Emperor himself, who has listened to their prayer and felt displeasure, will be an ignoramus likewise. Do you not see, perfidious and impudent fellow that you are, that your blame attaches to all good men? For I myself can swear that in this instance I have witnessed the tears of all the prelates and of all the distinguished men, and that indeed throughout Spain there has been public sadness and universal grief. And although I have received such honour and such acts of courtesy at the hands of this most excellent nation that I can never forget them, so that I shall ever hold myself to be as much a Spaniard as an Italian, nevertheless that which has brought me under greater obligation than all the rest, has been to witness the universal grief and compassion which high and low, men and women, nobles and peasants, poor and rich, and all classes have felt at the sacking of Rome and the calamities of the Pope; whilst you, and some others like you, in a persecution so fierce that brutes without discourse of reason, wild beasts and the stones evinced sorrow, you alone, instead

of compassion, which is the sole relief of the wretched, have with fresh cruelty desired to awaken hatred against the poor survivors of the destruction by fire of Rome and of the Church, and have repeated the guilty exclamation of those perfidious Jews who said to Pilate, in order to induce him to condemn our Saviour to death, "If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend," not only by saying, but by writing, that if the Emperor liberate the Pope he will be unable to justify himself, but that a very bad impression will be permanently wrought upon the minds of the people against him; and that you know not what they will say of him, nor what account he will have to give to God himself, in not having known how to avail himself of so good an opportunity of rendering service to God, and so memorable a benefit to Christianity. Do you not see yourself what injury is done the world by your being left upon the face of the earth? What more atrocious words were ever uttered? What more abominable counsel was ever given to a secular prince? What pestiferous tongue ever dared utter an expression so inhuman and brutish? You, a new reformer of orders and Christian ceremonies, a new Lycurgus, a corrector of approved Holy Councils, and a new censor of men's morals, you say, let the Emperor reform the Church by keeping the Pope and Cardinals imprisoned, and that in so doing, he will not only do God service, but will also gain on earth immortal glory—do you? And you would induce him to do such an impious and heinous act—would you? Comparing him to Jesus Christ, and saying that if he do so, men will ever afterwards say, Jesus Christ founded the faith and the Emperor Charles V. restored it! Oh impudent blasphemer and hellish fiend! have you dared to raise your eyes? have you dared to present yourself to men? are you not afraid that God should send down fire from heaven and consume you? Do you not fear, lest the gloomiest spirits that people the abyss of hell should bear you away from earth? Prepare yourself, then; for divine justice does not leave such abominable crimes unpunished; and believe that ravens will tear your malignant eyes out of your head, rather than for them ever to see such huge mischief as you desire; and the accursed tongue, which you exercise as a firebrand on earth, shall rather be torn by dogs than that it ever induce the Emperor to do that which is not God's service.

P. 68. I indeed believe that the clemency of the Pope and of the Emperor is such that, possibly, they will pardon you, as far as they are personally concerned, for the injury you have done them both in endeavouring to cause them, and that without their fault, to be esteemed two of the most irreligious and cruel tyrants that ever existed; but it is not right that the injury done to Christ and our religion be pardoned you by either of them. And even if they were willing to pass over your error without punishment, without consideration of a thing so vile as you are, believe that the people would not: the very stones will rise to stone you and expel you from Spain; for this most Christian nation hates and persecutes heretics, and there would be great inconsistency in discovering and chastising those who are so secretly, and then in tolerating those who are so publicly. Go, then, and carry this plague elsewhere; go to Germany, where your Dialogue is gone before you to be your harbinger, where you will be heartily welcomed by Luther and his followers; and do not think of infecting, like a scabby sheep, this whole flock of Christ, whose health is so well cared for by its Shepherd. And if you have hitherto been so cautious that your hypocritical devices have deceived those who might have suspected that the root of your ancestors' errors yet lived in you, do not believe that, after your personal avowal, the officers of the INQUISITION will, by failure in their duty, show favour or

affection for you, who have in the beginning of your Dialogue called them Pharisees and bigots, saying you were well aware what false judgments they would form on this subject ; for I can tell you that they will form a correct judgment concerning you, and there will be manifested the revelation of your designs, and not the protection of Jesus Christ, of which you speak, for He does not protect His enemies, nor does He by His grace supply shortcomings where there is no rectitude of purpose ; nay, He smites them with the sword of justice.

P. 70. And since you, moreover, say that the Spaniards to whom you write are so able and judicious that they can fathom anything, however difficult it may be, I believe that they will readily discover your malignity, and chastise it accordingly. And, since towards the close of your Dialogue you say to the Archdeacon that you will go to St. Benito to furnish you with religious arguments, I hold it to be significant of a San Benito that awaits you, garbed in which your life's tragedy will end.

Madrid, October, 1528.

(Signed) BALDESSAR CASTIGLIONE.

Some palliation for the intemperate character of Castiglione's Philippic may be found in the consciousness of the disastrous position to which he felt that his diplomatic affairs had arrived. He had seen his acknowledged talents, his diplomacy and counsel disconcerted in Spain ; his credit with the Consistory of Rome ruined ; the Pope, his master, brought to the verge of dishonour in the sight of the Catholic world, and to ridicule among the German powers : and to his unsuccessful negotiations, rather than to the crooked ambition of the Church of Rome, Clement attributed the sacking of the metropolis of Christendom. "Exhausted, spiritless, afflicted, fallen," a disheartened and baffled ambassador, under the irritation of declining health, the suavity of the man of fine manners, the model "*courtier*" was no longer under the control of his better judgment ; whilst death, he saw, was fast advancing to cover his bright and flattered career with undisguised disgrace. He died a few months afterwards, at Toledo, on the 13th of February, 1529, the year of the fall of Wolsey.

From the first, Juan de Valdés trusted less than his brother in the power of government to improve and reform Spain, the object which both brothers always yearned after, and for which they laboured. On this account Juan did not fetter himself with the pursuit of public affairs of any kind. Without the responsibility of office, he found himself more at liberty than Alfonso to labour, speak, and write without restraint ; and hence in the absence of his brother was entirely exposed to attack. This circumstance obliged him to leave his country ; and, by directing his course to Naples, led to his acquaintance with his well-known Italian friends, and subsequently to the production of the whole series of his strictly religious writings.

CHAPTER IV.

THE death of Castiglione, which took place at Toledo, by no means freed the brothers Valdés from their impending danger. The anger of the friars and Romish party was fully aroused. Fortunately for them, the Emperor had fixed at this period to visit Bologna, to meet the Pope, arrange the affairs of Italy, and be crowned with the iron crown of Lombardy, and thence proceed to attend to the pacification of Germany. Alfonso, as his secretary, went with him; and as he is now separated from his brother Juan, whom we shall hereafter find in Italy, it will be convenient to follow Alfonso's course until he disappears entirely from our view.

On the 27th of July, 1529, the Emperor embarked¹ from Barcelona, and touching at Palamos, where he remained four days, he landed on the 5th of August at Villafranca, near Nice. At Genoa he was received with the acclamations due to the protector of its liberties. He honoured Doria with many marks of distinction, and bestowed on the Republic several new privileges. He was welcomed in the name of the Pope by four cardinals, with Farnese at their head. Continuing his journey, he arrived at Piacenza on the 6th of September.

The Protestant cities had begun to combine together. They resolved to send ambassadors to the Emperor, with the statement of their grievances embodied in a formal remonstrance, founded upon the resolutions of the Diet of Spires; and appealed to a council or synod in Germany. At Piacenza they were introduced into Charles's presence by Mercurino Gattinara, Henry of Nassau, Alexander Schweisse, and Alfonso Valdés, on the 9th of September. Charles appointed the 12th for the audience, and requested them to draw up their demands in writing, and to be as short as possible. These demands he answered in writing with no little severity, and the ambassadors having their Remonstrance ready, gave it for presentation into the hands of Alexander Schweisse, the Emperor's interpreter, in presence of witnesses.

At first he refused to take it; at length he was induced

¹ For the progress and for the dates of the Emperor Charles V., 1852, of the Emperor's journey, we follow the pp. 494-6. "Itinerary" in Bradford's "Correspon-

to carry it to the Emperor; but, returning in the afternoon, he brought word that the Emperor confined them to their lodgings under pain of life and goods. Michael Caden, of Nuremberg, one of the ambassadors, being accidentally absent, was informed of the news by his servant, and immediately wrote an account of all that transpired to the Senate of Nuremberg.

The ambassadors were constrained to follow the court to Parma, where Gattinara received his nomination of cardinal, and where he was taken sick, not without doubts of the cause of his disorder, his duties *pro tempore* being transferred to Granvelle, who there set them at liberty to return home, with the exception of Caden, who was commanded to stay, upon pain of death. Learning, however, from Granvelle's discourse, the danger he was in, he secretly hired horses, and posting first to Ferrara and then to Venice, reached his home in safety. The Senate of Nuremberg gave notice to the Duke of Saxony, the Landgrave, and their associates, who, having consulted together, resolved to hold a convention at Smalcalde about the latter end of November, which issued in the league for their common defence.¹

The Emperor proceeded to Bologna, the place fixed upon for his interview with the Pope. Clement was now on good terms with Charles; his own favoured nuncio, Castiglione, had sunk to the grave, disgraced and dishonoured, under Clement's former policy, and he showed himself in haste to propitiate the Grand Chancellor, the successful adviser of Charles, his former enemy. At Parma, while yet on the way to Bologna, Gattinara had received his nomination of cardinal—an elevation, however, which he enjoyed but for a very few months. How acceptable to Alfonso de Valdés had been the inclination of the scales of fortune! The nuncio, his former friend, through mutual love and admiration of polite letters, and lately his most exasperated enemy, disappointed and baffled in his state craft, had been removed by death from the scene! His patron, on the other hand, successful in all his views, into which he himself heartily entered, he saw elevated to the highest dignity which their opponent the Pope had in his power to confer. The humbled Pontiff awaited the Emperor at Bologna. Charles affected to unite in his public entry into that city the majesty which suited the imperial dignity with the humility becoming an obedient son of the Church; while at the head

¹ Sleidan's "History of Reformation," translated by Bohun, 1689, book vii.

of twenty thousand veteran soldiers, able to give law to all Italy, he knelt down to kiss the foot of that very Pope whom he had so lately detained a prisoner, and who now, with his own hands, placed the iron crown on his head at the festival of St. Matthias, February 24th, 1530.¹ On the 21st of January the Emperor had sent letters into Germany to summon a Diet of the States, to meet at Augsburg the 8th of April, there to consult on the affairs of religion and the Turkish war. The Emperor remained at Bologna until the 22nd of March, 1530, during which time his father-confessor, Loaysa, the Bishop of Osma,² received a cardinal's hat.

While staying at Bologna, Alfonso received letters from Erasmus by the hands of Francisco Dilfo, an Andalusian, with whom he had been intimate at Freiburg, and who was returning by way of Bologna into Spain. Dilfo at the same time was the bearer of a letter from Erasmus to *another* Valdés,³ one of Alfonso's brothers, with whose name we are yet unacquainted, whom Erasmus solicited to exercise the good offices towards him which the twin-brothers, owing to their absence from Spain, could no longer execute there:—

ERASMUS TO — VALDÉS.

There is nothing, my dear Valdés, that I do not owe to your brother [Alfonso], who never ceases to love, benefit, and defend me in everything. Since your brother, whom I hope to see amongst us next spring, is absent [from Spain], it is right that you should there do the same for me as he did. I easily excuse you for not answering to my letters, provided that your love corresponds to mine, as I doubt not that it does, unless I am deceived in everything. I will not trouble you with any more, since the rest you will hear from Francisco Dilfo, who does not know how to separate himself from Spain, which is become so dear to him. Farewell.

From Freiburg, in Brisgavia, on 13th January, 1530.³

Proceeding to Germany by way of Peschiera, Botzen, and Brixen, over the Brenner pass, the Emperor arrived the 4th of May, 1530, at Innsbruck. Here Alfonso was suddenly deprived of his immediate friend and patron. The Grand Chancellor Gattinara, who had sickened at Parma, became

¹ Charles V. was the last of the ancient sovereigns crowned with the iron crown; it remained as a relic at Milan until Napoleon, anxious to connect his dignity with the recollections of the past, placed it with his own hands upon his head, disdaining to receive it from the bishop.

² Letters of Garcia Loaysa, Bishop of Osma. "Cartas al Emperador Carlos V., escritas en los años de 1530-32 por su

confesor [Garcia de Loaysa, Cardenal Obispo de Osma.] Berlin: Wilhelm Besser, 1848." Smo. p. 226.

² See "CX. Consideraciones de Juan de Valdés por Luis de Usoz i Rio," 1863, Apendize, p. 526.

³ Erasmus, *Epistolæ*, No. MXC. col. 1262, where it is addressed as to Alfonso de Valdés, which from the sense is evidently an error.

fatally ill, and shortly after died, leaving vacant the presidency of the Council and the Imperial seal. The conduct of affairs was committed to Nicholas Perrenot de Granvelle, who had studied at the University of Dôle, where the late chancellor had been his instructor, who, early recognizing his talents, had introduced him into the Emperor's employ. This circumstance deeply affected Alfonso, combined as it was with the news of the death of his venerable father, Don Fernando de Valdés, Rejidor of Cuenca, in the same month of May, 1530. Erasmus, in his efforts to console him under his affliction, unites his consolations for both bereavements in the same letter :—

ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM TO ALFONSO VALDÉS.

I cannot be otherwise than sympathetically affected at your lot, my dear Valdés, that you should at the same time suffer the double loss of your excellent father, and of Mercurino Gattinara, your patron, who loved you as a father does his son. But a man ought to maintain his mind undisturbed by aught that can happen to it. The Lord has seen fit to lay His hand upon me too, and I am recovering but gradually : for whilst the abscess was still suppurating, the surgeon applied strong plasters to the wound, which healed it, leaving, however, a certain hardness, which leads me to fear lest the evil should return. When my suffering was at its height, the only servant I had, for the other had been recalled to his own country, and who ever assisted me in my chamber and at meals, fell sick with the sweating sickness. But "it is the Lord, let Him do that which seemeth Him good." Fare ye well, my dear Valdés, and after this tempest may you have a calm. Indeed, nothing new has befallen you. You have lost your father ; yet this circumstance is of daily occurrence ; neither could Gattinara live for ever. In them you leant upon "a tottering wall." You know well that he who writes this is wholly yours to command both actually and prospectively ; I repeat it, fare you well.¹

Dated Friburg, July 9, 1530.

Alfonso, notwithstanding the loss of his friend Gattinara, continued some time longer in the service of the Emperor ; for he would be of equal use to the successor of the Chancellor as he had been to Gattinara, whom he directed, with respect to the internal affairs of Spain, not merely from his own intimate acquaintance with every circumstance, but also from information furnished through him to the Chancellor by his father, one of the principal movers of the party of progress which had been formed under the training of Angleria.

From Innspruck, Charles proceeded by way of Munich to Augsburg, where a second Diet had been convened by him. Arriving on the evening of the 15th of June, he was occupied until the 23rd of November in the most important and memorable endeavours to adjust the demands of the Protest-

¹ Epist. MCXXII. col. 1293.

ant princes, who had determined to give precedence to the question of the settlement of religious differences, whilst he sought in some degree by these means to induce the German powers effectually to oppose the progress of the Turks, who had taken Rhodes, then considered the bulwark of Christendom. Almost one-half of the Germanic body had revolted from the Romish see; and even the provinces, that had not hitherto thrown off the papal yoke, were considerably weakened. Charles, now on good terms with the Pope, who dreaded and abhorred the thought of a General Council, and wished to crush the Protestants by force of arms, thinking that their contumacy would also lessen the Imperial authority in Germany, was disposed to lay a less resolute hand upon them. The Protestants, however, would not recede from their demand for a General Council, which Charles himself was not unwilling to grant. His views were different from those of the Pope, for he was becoming daily more sensible how obstinate and deep-rooted the existing evils were; he had no objection to reconcile the Protestants, if possible, by less violent means, and considered the calling of a council as no improper expedient for that purpose.

Alfonso de Valdés now proved himself an active promoter of peace and reconciliation. Upon the court's arrival at Augsburg, he took occasion, with Cornelius Schepper, his co-secretary, to seek a private interview with Melancthon, thinking that it would promote these objects to know exactly the points of controversy, and what the Protestants especially demanded. It was a memorable day in the history of Christian progress! "Alfonso [de Valdés], Spanish Chancellor [secretary] of his Imperial Majesty, as also Cornelius [Schepper]," writes Spalatin, "have had some friendly conversations with Philip [Melancthon]. Valdés told him that the Spaniards had been given to understand that the Lutherans believed neither in God nor the Trinity, nor held Christ and the Virgin Mary in any estimation, so that they esteemed it a greater service to God to slay a Lutheran than to kill a Turk." "Melancthon," he writes, "spoke for a long time with them, and explained the principles of his party; but they came to no conclusion, and maintained their own opinions." On Saturday, the 18th of June, "Alfonso told Melancthon that he had been in the morning with the Emperor, and that no opportunity so favourable to speak to his Majesty about *him* having occurred for a long time, he reported to him all the Lutheran articles, and how they believed there was nothing whatever in them contrary to the Church. The Emperor had asked, What do they

wish about the monks? and had charged him, Alfonso, to request of Melancthon that he should transmit to his Majesty a *brief summary*, drawn up without any prolixity, which Melancthon has done.¹ At the same time, he charged Alfonso to go to the Legate Campeggio to talk the subject over with him. This he has done, and the greatest obstacle to agreement more than anything else is the Mass. It appears, then, thanks to God, that affairs present some degree of hopefulness. The Emperor would willingly assist; God has touched him.”

Another report, sent on the 21st of the same month, by the Nuremberg deputies at Augsburg, to their Burgomaster and Senate, serves to confirm and complete Spalatin's. It details, amongst other things, the following:—

It is reported to us that Alfonso Valdés, one of the principal secretaries of His Imperial Majesty, has summoned Philip Melancthon to him several times, and after having conversed with him on Lutheran matters, finally asked him to explain what the Lutherans really desire, and how the affair may be adjusted. That Melancthon had at once given him the information as well as he could in an offhand discourse, and as near as may be in the following terms: that the Lutheran question was not so perplexed and unreasonable as might possibly have been represented to His Majesty, and that the chief existing differences were comprehended in the following articles: the Sacrament under two forms; the marriage of the clergy and regulars; the Mass; and that the Lutherans could not approve of private Masses. If these points were conceded, he believed that means might be found to arrange all the others satisfactorily. That Alfonso [de Valdés] had undertaken to report this information to His Imperial Majesty, and that he had sent an intimation to Melancthon on Saturday, the 18th June; that His Majesty had graciously heard that report, which had not displeased him, and that he had charged Alfonso to communicate it to the Papal Legate. That having done this, the Legate likewise was not displeased nor shocked by the Sacrament in two kinds, nor by the marriage of priests and monks, but that he could not bring himself to allow the suppression of private Masses. That Alfonso had finally told Melancthon His Imperial Majesty required him to note in writing in the briefest manner possible the articles which the Lutherans desired, and to send them to Alfonso, and that then His Majesty would receive and weigh them. But His Majesty particularly desired that such summary should be couched in modest terms, concise yet comprehensive, so that he might hence derive a fresh and more powerful reason for treating about the terms of agreement and settlement of this dissension. That His Majesty besides thought it would be more advantageous to conduct this matter with quiet unobtrusiveness, without long and public audiences and disputations: for that such audiences and litigious disputations only tended to produce fresh causes of irritation, and by no means promoted unity. Melancthon, acceding to this request, engaged that he would reflect more deeply upon the matter, and would compose a summary. He desired to talk over the subject with Dr. Brück and other learned men first; then to make a draft of it to read to the Elector; and if it appeared good and *he* thought it right, then to place it in Alfonso's hands.

¹ This summary is the *Augsburg Confession*, and owed its origin to the suggestion of A. de Valdés.

The two most conciliatory men of the two parties, however, could not adjust differences of such magnitude. With reference to the same confession of faith, concerning which Luther, admiring and commending it, said, with his usual self-sufficiency, that *he himself* could not have drawn it up so circumspectly, Melancthon writes to Joachim Camerarius on the 26th of June :—

I am so far from judging it to be more temperate than just, that, on the contrary, I fear exceedingly lest *certain persons* should feel offended by our freedom. For Valdés, the Emperor's secretary, saw it before it was publicly exhibited, and held it to be bitter, and in a form intolerable to its opponents.

And both Valdés and Melancthon were right. Alfonso de Valdés translated this fine confession of Melancthon's into Italian, at the Emperor's command, who said himself: "Autant de langues on parle, autant de fois on est homme,"—"a man multiplies himself by the number of languages he speaks;" and who therefore, assuredly, must have highly esteemed this his secretary! A little work, entitled "Pro religione Christiana res gestae in comitiis Augustae Vindelicorum habitis, anno Domini MDXXX.," in which the licence, dated 6th November, 1530, countersigned *A. Valdesius*, is probably indeed a work of his own.¹

Alfonso's name occurs under a Latin letter which the Emperor sent to the Swiss Catholic cantons after their victory at Cappel, in 1531, where Zwinglius was slain, on which Charles congratulated them, exhorting them to persevere. Alfonso could not do otherwise than fulfil the Emperor's commands by virtue of his office; and it is known that Melancthon himself said, in 1529, "I would rather die than stain our party by making common cause with Zwinglius." And in the same year, after the colloquy of Marburg, he repudiated all brotherhood with those Swiss reformers whom he had in vain hoped to gain over to the German Lutheran party. And Alfonso was not a Protestant. Like Erasmus, he was not wanting in genius to soar with Luther; like Erasmus, he would not separate himself from the simplicity and breadth of the Bible; and, like Erasmus also, both he and his twin-brother remained within the pale of their ancient communion till their death.

In 1531, Erasmus writes to Alfonso a letter full of affection. "Believe me," says he, "there is no one living from

¹ For the whole of the part which Alfonso de Valdés took in the Confession of Augsburg, we owe to the authorities carefully collected by Dr. Ed. Boehmer, of Halle, and to his learned notes in the Appendix to his ed. of the "Cento e

dieci Divine Considerazioni di Giovanni Valdesso," Halle, 1860, pp. 498—503.

This Appendix, which the doctor modestly calls *Sketches* of the Brothers Valdés, deserves the careful *study* of any one who would write their biography.

whom I receive a letter more gladly, or to whom I send one more willingly, than yourself. It is unworthy," continues he, "of your mind, the home of the Graces, to be contaminated with envy, or to take offence at anything whatever." And after Alfonso had replied to him pleasantly, Erasmus, in a letter of the 29th August, beginning with "the quarrels of lovers are the renewal of love," writes to him admiringly. "Had you not been born and suckled by the Graces themselves, amidst such spite from yelping curs, how ever could you have been able constantly to maintain your mind pure and sincere?" He rejoices that his friend gives him hopes of soon seeing him and conversing with him.

In October or November of 1531, Alfonso left the court, which was then at Brussels, probably to take some journey by order of the Emperor. It appears that in 1532 and in 1533 he was still in the Imperial service. He did not, however, embark with the Emperor for Spain, who left Genoa on the 9th April, 1533. He may either have remained in the service of the Emperor at Brussels, or have entered into that of Charles's brother, Ferdinand of Austria. It could not have been a prudent thing for him to expose himself to the familiars of the Holy Office in Spain, although his enemy, Castiglione, had died before his departure; the Inquisitors never had forgiven or forgotten the Dialogue. And another cause of suspicion against him had been added since his departure, by the publication, in 1530, at Alcalá de Henares, of Angleria's Epistles, in which two from him respecting Luther held a conspicuous place. This opinion, that he did not venture to return to Spain, is corroborated by a passage in the narrative of the imprisonment at Brussels of Francisco de Enzinas, translator of the Spanish New Testament, 1543, and nephew to Pedro de Lerma. Writing to Melancthon himself, he says: "There are none of us who did not know Alfonso de Valdés, the Emperor's secretary, to be a good man. The satellites of the Holy Fathers could never endure his doctrine and authority. They laid such snares for him that if he had returned to Spain there would have been an end of him. They would have caused him to die a cruel death; the Emperor himself could not have saved him."¹

We are entirely ignorant of the subsequent events in his personal history, and the place and period of his death. With him seemed to come to an end the policy of the party of freedom, which had caused Spanish affairs to arrive at so

¹ Ch. Al. Campan's "Mémoires de Francisco de Enzinas" (Latin and French), Bruxelles, 1863, tome ii. pp. 154-5.

prosperous a promise. Mendoza, Angleria, Fernando de Valdés, and Gattinara had passed away by death, and Alfonso, isolated from all his Spanish connections at least, retired from observation.

The country party had become extinct in the fall of the *Comunidades* by the death of Padilla and his magnanimous lady, and left no hereditary succession. At length its truly national principles died out also in the last representative of the popular rights. Two powers in the state became successively absolute, neither of which paid any deference to the people, who in all countries form the real basis of the common-weal—the Court and the Church. The latter was more oppressive than the former, because freedom of the mind became more enthralled than freedom of the person. Had the Court, a hundred years later, been triumphant in England over the Commons, the course of things in this country would in great measure have been the same as that which history informs us followed in Spain. The Commons of Spain, obliterated as a class, subjected to the exclusive rule of the privileged orders of the State, a vain and unsubstantial splendour, an universal weakness consummated by the heavier thrall of bigotry, resulted in the utter degeneracy of the nation.

When Granvelle succeeded Gattinara in the conduct of affairs, he was not placed in the same position of Grand Chancellor. Charles now held no council of state—he took the administration under his own superintendence. In Spanish affairs he concerted with Francisco de los Covos, Grand Commendador of Leon; and in the German, Burgundian, and foreign, with the two Granvelles, father and son, successively; but he formed his own measures. This course was imitated and more exclusively carried out by his son, Philip II., surnamed “El prudente,” whose life is the strongest illustration of the saying, “the cunning are taken in their own craftiness.” When Charles undertook to conduct his own counsels, not by statesmen skilled in the affairs of the world, but by confessors, his concerns went on worse and worse; and when Philip proceeded in the same direction, led by the advice of ecclesiastics instead of by the broader policy of statesmen, he brought on himself the scorn of Germany, with the ruin of his best provinces. The national Spanish policy had died out by the process of nature. Gattinara being removed by death, Charles changed his course, and lent himself to be led by his confessor and the Pope. Alfonso could not remain near his person, but would necessarily be removed to a distance, to con-

ciliate both the Spanish and Romish parties. Whether he was sent on a distant mission to Ferdinand in Austria, or removed in a more summary manner, for which amongst his many enemies—"the Saints of the world," the Spanish friars, the Inquisition, and the enraged partisans of Rome who could never forget or forgive the dialogue of its sacking—instruments would not be wanting either to suggest or execute, must now be left to conjecture. In that age, state policy, ecclesiastical interest, and fanaticism were capable of anything to gain their own purposes, and the suppression of a few papers might conceal the whole from history.

We shall now pursue our relation more especially with reference to Juan, whom we have reason to believe left Spain for Italy about the time that his brother had embarked with the Emperor for Germany, in February, 1529. He had previously been in correspondence with Erasmus, who, it appears, was early apprised of the danger threatening the brothers from the persecution attendant upon the production of the two Dialogues, and expressed his sympathy in a letter addressed to Juan, dated Basle, March 21st, 1529, which seems, from its concluding passage, to have been addressed to him in Italy.

D. ERASMUS TO JUAN DE VALDÉS.

How sensibly I feel, my dear Valdés, to learn by your letter what great troubles and dangers have afflicted you; and yet, on the other part, how lively was my satisfaction to know that you had escaped the storm in safety, and already found yourself secure in port! I greatly regret to behold Spain oppressed with so many evils. Oh that God would turn the hearts of kings to the love of peace! Do not grieve, my dear youth, nor make apologies to me for your long silence. Always consider the letter I write to your brother as written to yourself, and I shall always reckon his answer as yours, for in my view you are not merely TWINS, but I conceive you are rather one single person than two bodies. That you should hold a note so slightly written as mine, to be one of your chief literary jewels, I quite appreciate; and, on my side, my dear Juan, I shall treasure with great esteem the memory of a mind so amiable and pure as yours in the depth of my heart. It cannot then be less grateful to me to know that there are so many good men in Spain who heartily love me. And on the other hand, it gives me pain that, in a country favoured with so many privileges, such nests of vicious hornets multiply, that, not to me alone, but to them also whom I love, they should cause such painful disturbance; and I regret your share of it almost more than my own. From my heart I congratulate myself for you, and for as many Spaniards as are like you, because I see that you consecrate all your efforts and studies to the culture of letters, always aiming to promote sincere Christian piety, and to unite them to it, which has not been done by many among the Italians until now. What worth have learning and letters if they draw the mind away from religion? Farewell.¹

Basle, 21st March, 1529.

¹ Erasmus, Opera, Lugd. Bat. Epist. MXXX. col. 1165-6.

Juan de Valdés had gone from Spain to Naples, where he formed acquaintance with various intelligent Italians in that city, with whom he entered into strict intimacy, and who took much delight in learning from him the niceties and graces of the Spanish language, then become fashionable amongst persons of rank and letters. After remaining there some few months, he passed on to Rome, where he enjoyed the society of Sepulveda, who was charmed with his likeness to his brother Alfonso in feature, and, what was no less remarkable, in his talents, learning, manners, and pursuits. Whilst there, he formed a collection of Spanish proverbs, and continued his correspondence with his friends at Naples by letters. "You must recollect," says one of them, called Martio in the Dialogue on Language, "that when you left this neighbourhood, two years ago, you promised all three of us that you would preserve and maintain our friendship by correspondence, and this you have done by your letters."

These friends had agreed to communicate to one another every letter they might receive, and noticing various niceties of language about which they could not agree amongst themselves, they resolved that when he next appeared at Naples they would obtain his opinion. After two years' absence in Rome he came back to Naples. As soon as he had returned, they concerted a plan amongst themselves to attain their wishes, in this manner:—At a country villa, situate upon the shore of the Bay of Naples, a party consisting of two or three Italians and two Spaniards, named respectively Marcio, Coriolano, Torres Naharro,¹ Pacheco, and Valdés, being assembled, and, after a morning passed in hearing Valdés discourse, as he was accustomed to do, upon subjects of his own selection, determined that they would in the afternoon claim the like privilege to choose their discourse, and question him on the subject of their choice, which was the Spanish language, and that, in order to preserve the details of his instructions, they would place a practised writer in a secret place in the apartment, to take down notes of the whole conversation. The scheme succeeded, and they ultimately obtained the notes of the hidden reporter, which with much persuasion they induced Valdés to take home with

¹ Bartolomé Torres de Naharro was born at Torres, near Badajos, on the borders of Portugal. He had been a captive in Algiers, and visited Rome after 1513, hoping to find favour with Leo X. He wrote the bitterest satire on the vices of Rome, on which account

he found it safe to withdraw to Naples. Here he first published his works, chiefly dramas, in 1517, dedicated to Fernando D'Avalos, husband of Vittoria Colonna. His verses are very free, and were strictly expurgated by the Inquisition.

him and correct. He did this, preserving the form and spirit of the conversation as it actually passed between them. This occasional conversation furnishes us after three hundred years with several minute and interesting particulars about himself. The speaker who planned and led the Dialogue would appear to be no other than Marco Antonio Magno, an Italian agent or *procuratore* to the Donna Giulia Gonzaga, Duchess of Trajetto. Magno was one of Valdés' most affectionate friends, and was bound by his avocations to know the Spanish language thoroughly, the force and comparative signification of which Valdés, as a master, could give. Magno wished to translate the ideas of Valdés into Italian, as he states subsequently in his letter to his patroness when translating the "Alfabeto Cristiano" for her. It was a natural thing that he should contrive the Dialogue, the corrected manuscript¹ of which is the work now known as the "Diálogo de la Lengua," a production of great beauty, in which wit and learning are charmingly blended with graceful turns of individual character, and which will be read with pleasure by every student of the Spanish language for its intelligence and discriminating good sense.² The beginning of the Dialogue tells its own story.

MARTIO. VALDÉS. CORIOLANO. PACHECO. TORRES.

MARTIO: Now the servants are gone to dinner, and we are left alone, let us resume, before any one comes to disturb us, the discourse which I began with you this morning.

VALDÉS: I do not remember what you allude to.

¹ For two hundred years the work lay hidden in manuscript; it was first published by Don Gregorio Mayans, in 1737, as a second volume to other treatises, under the general title of "Orígenes de la Lengua Española," Madrid, 1737, from an imperfect manuscript preserved in the National Library. Mayans adopted various omissions and alterations, which have been restored and corrected with great care and nicety in an edition published at Madrid, 1860, 8vo., having more than a thousand corrections. The editor of this latter edition strongly advocates the authorship of the work as by Juan de Valdés, and gives at some length the reasons for his belief. See also the Marques P. J. Pedal, in "Revista Hispano-Americana," entrega i., 1848, pp. 18—30; Ticknor's "History of Spanish Literature," ed. 1863, vol. iii. p. 459. The account of the Spanish translator of Ticknor, vol. ii., ad-

ditions, p. 512, is confused. D. Casiano Pellicer attributes it to Alfonso Valdés. Various expressions in the "Diálogo de la Lengua" allude to Juan's writings:—"I never in my life," says Pacheco, speaking of Juan, "saw a man more attached to writing; at home he is always, in fact, a *St. Juan* the Evangelist, pen in hand; so that I believe he writes at night what he does by day, and in the day what he dreams by night" (p. 16). This alludes to his name, Juan, and his Scripture studies. And, again, Coriolano: "You did not learn this Spanish bravado in *St. Paul*." Valdés: "It is enough that I learnt it of *St. Peter*, and in *Rome*" (p. 149). A double allusion to his Commentaries on Paul's Epistles, and to his certain residence in Rome in 1531, and probably to his first residence there with Adrian VI.

² See Ticknor, "History of Spanish Literature," vol. ii. p. 20, and note cd. London, 1863.

MARTIO : Do you not ? Do you not recollect that I told you that a laudable curiosity had been awakened in my mind with reference to the topic we had discussed, and upon which some days ago I would fain have conversed with you ?

VALDÉS : Now indeed I do recall it ; but it had wholly escaped me.

MARTIO : Since we, to oblige and serve you, have discussed this morning a subject that you wished to have argued, and have fully replied to every question you put to us, it is but right that you, practising that courtesy and good breeding towards us which you show to all, and for which every one gives you credit, should entertain us in conversation this afternoon, by meeting and replying to the questions we shall put to you on the subjects that most interest us, just as we have done to those which you have put to us.

VALDÉS : Had your request been made less rhetorically, I should have offered to obey you frankly ; but now, seeing that you have tricked it out with so many arguments, and fearing lest you seek to place me in some difficulty, I do not know how to reply, unless you first tell me in plain terms what you require of me.

MARTIO : We require in the first place that without seeking to know more you promise submission to our demands.

VALDÉS : Trusting to your discretion, that you will ask nothing unreasonable or improper, I promise to obey you.

MARTIO : This does not satisfy me, and I want you to pledge your faith to all three of us that you will do so.

VALDÉS : What design have you in seeking to impose such strict obligations upon me ? Possibly you have conspired, all three against one, in a plot *para el Mohino* ? Well then, I say, come what may, I give you my word that I will answer, to the best of my knowledge, every question you shall ask of me this afternoon. Are you satisfied ?

MARTIO : For my part, I am perfectly satisfied.

CORIOLANO : As for me, I desire nothing more.

PACHECO : Well, as for myself, I needed nothing more than what was first promised.

VALDÉS : Now then, begin your questions ; for I feel bewildered till I know what the mysteries are of which you require my solution.

MARTIO : Mysteries ? how so, to you who well know them ?

VALDÉS : Be that as it may, settle it now ; for God's sake, say what you want !

MARTIO : Willingly. You must well recollect, that about the time you left this country for Rome, which is now two years ago, you promised us three that you would keep up and maintain our friendship by your correspondence, which you have done. Now you must know that when you had left we made the following arrangement :—that whichever of us should receive a letter from you he should communicate it to the others, and this we have done regularly, and have found it a great amusement, for the perusal called up in our minds the memory of our absent friend, and in the witty sayings and graceful expressions with which your letters ever abound, we found matter for mirth and entertainment. Attentively noticing the happy and delicate expressions you employed when writing in the Spanish tongue (Castilian), we ever found subjects for conversation and argument ; for Don Pacheco, as a man born and bred in Spain, presuming to know the language as well as any one else, and I, as a student, desiring both to know and write it, as well as to speak it, and Don Coriolano, as a thorough-bred courtier, seeking a perfect acquaintance with it, for in Italy, as you see, it is now held, both by ladies and by gentlemen, to be genteel and gallant to know how to speak Spanish, we have always found some-

thing to note in your letters, affecting orthography and expression as well as style, and it happened that when we hit upon some things which we had not seen used by others, whom we held to be as good masters of Castilian as yourself, we frequently came to close arguing, at one time upon certain things, and at another upon others, for we severally affected to be masters and not scholars. Now that we have you present, when you can explain what has struck us as being peculiar in your style, we beg it as a favour that you would fully answer our questions. To Sr. Pacheco the language is vernacular, Sr. Coriolano is a novice in it, and I myself am an amateur of it.

VALDÉS: Had you said this before dinner, I should have doubted whether you spoke in earnest; but remembering that it is after dinner, and believing, that whilst proving yourself a courtier, you desired to give a tone to the character of your entertainment, I make up my mind not to accept your statement as aught more than a fiction, and say, that if you wish to learn anything from me, you must lay pleasantry aside for a while, since you know, if I take up the affair you will but get from me what a highwayman gets when he attacks a footpad.

CORIOL: Your mode of jesting appears to me capital; for you think by mere dexterity of play to release yourself from the obligation of your promise, and thus defraud us; but you shall not escape us unless you first answer, in the fullest and amplest manner, every question we shall put to you, with reference to what, as you have been informed, really transpired in your absence, and concerning which we ask information from you.

VALDÉS: Do you wish me to speak out truthfully? For after all I think you are joking with me.

PACHECO: If you are not inclined to trust them, believe me that all they have said is simple truth.

VALDÉS: But I could wish that it were simply false; for what you desire is so extravagant that I can scarce believe you.

MARTIO: It greatly surprises me, that it should appear strange to you to discuss your native tongue. Tell me, were the letters, with reference to which we now appeal to you, Latin, would you hold it extravagant that we should ask explanations in connection with them?

VALDÉS: No, I should not, assuredly.

MARTIO: Why not?

VALDÉS: Because I learned Latin methodically and from books, and Castilian from habit. I could reply as to Latin by the method and from the books in which I studied; but it is otherwise with Castilian, which I learned only in conversation, whence I am justified in regarding it as extravagant that you should call upon me to account for that with reference to which there is no record at all.

MARTIO: Were we to call you to account why others wrote differently from you, you would be right to decline doing so; but when we ask you why you write differently from others, you decline to answer. You cannot justifiably excuse yourself for so doing.

VALDÉS: If, indeed, what you say be so, I shall not cease to decline, for it appears to me an extravagant thing that you should seek to lose our time in discussing a subject so mean and so vulgar as petty points of grammatical nicety or mere elegance of expression; a thing to my mind so alien to your disposition and judgment, that it would not be to your honour to discuss it were it indeed ever so palatable and grateful to me.

MARTIO: I regret to hear you say so. What! does it seem to you that, Bembo wasted his time when he wrote his work on the Italian, the Tuscan, language?

VALDÉS: I am not sufficiently versed in the Tuscan tongue to judge

whether he lost or gained ; this I can tell you, I have heard many say that his was labour lost.

MARTIO : Those very persons who say so, I engage, gain, and that frequently, by what they call "labour lost," whilst there are numbers who think otherwise, for they approve of his arguments : whence it may be inferred that we are all under obligation to illustrate and enrich our vernacular tongue, that which our mother spoke to us when we hung sucklings on her bosom, and not that which is beaten into us with cane and birch, and which we learn from books. Have you not read what Bembo says on this ?

VALDÉS : Indeed I have, but we do not appear to me to be in the same predicament.

MARTIO : Why not ? Do you hold the Castilian tongue to be less elegant or genteel than the Tuscan ?

VALDÉS : No, that I don't ! but at the same time I do hold it to be less elevated ; for I look upon the Tuscan as illustrated and enriched by Boccaccio and Petrarch, who, as distinguished scholars, not only prided themselves upon writing books upon worthy subjects, but strove likewise that their style should be most appropriate and elegant ; and as you know, the Castilian language has never been illustrated by an author, who has written with such care and design as would be required by any one desiring to avail himself of his authority, who should seek to render a reason why he writes differently from others, or to reform the abuses at present discoverable in it.

MARTIO : The more you are convinced of this, the greater reason have you to be ashamed that you have allowed, and do allow, a language so noble, so perfect, so genteel, and so ample, to suffer by your neglect.

VALDÉS : You are quite right, but this does not concern me.

MARTIO : How so ? are you not a Castilian ?

VALDÉS : Assuredly I am.

MARTIO : Well then, how is it that this does not concern you ?

VALDÉS : Because I am neither so versed in letters, nor so deeply read in science, as are many other Castilians, who might more fully do what you desire.

MARTIO : Since they do not do it, and that you are not wanting in ability to do something, you ought not to excuse yourself for declining it. For were you to achieve nothing else than to stir up others to do it, you would have done much : and how much more so now, when we do not ask you to write, but to speak ; and as you know the proverb says, " words and feathers are borne away by the wind."

PACHECO : Do not, your word being pledged, constrain us to press you so to do that which you perform so easily ; and so much the more since you have promised, and have no just cause of excuse for yourself, since what you say respecting the absence of authors to support you is inadequate ; for you know that with reference to what you call orthography, and as to words, you can avail yourself of the authority of Antonio de Lebrija's glossary ; and as to style, of the work of Amadis de Gaula.¹

This extract is amply sufficient to show the origin, the object, the playful manner, and good sense that pervade the whole of this work. In the course of the conversation Valdés thus discriminates between genius and judgment in writing, and furnishes his own estimate of several of the best-written books of his time in Spanish.

¹ " *Diálogo de la Lengua,*" edition 1860, pp. 1—9.

VALDÉS : As to prose, I say that I have read but little of the books translated into Spanish ; for, seeing that I understood Latin and Italian, I care but little to occupy myself with Spanish translations. But of the little that I have read, I feel as if I had seen two treatises, which, with reference to style, pleased me as being pure Castilian, the rendering from the Latin being very elegant, and in the purest Spanish. One of these is “Boëtius de Consolatione ;”¹ and forasmuch as there are two translations of it, bear in mind that the one which I commend is that one which answers metre for metre, and prose for prose, and is addressed to the Count de Ureña.

MARTIO : What is the author’s name ?

VALDÉS : Good sooth, I do not recollect ; but to my mind he was a man of lively genius and clear judgment.

PACHECO : But tell me, pledging your honour, although it be alien to our subject, that which I have now long desired to know, what difference do you make between Genius and Judgment ?

VALDÉS : Genius discovers what may be said, and Judgment selects from what Genius discovers, what is best, and then marshals it ; so that of the two qualifications of an orator, which are invention and disposition, which means order, the former is to be attributed to Genius, and the latter to Judgment.

PACHECO : Think you that a man may be found, who, being well endowed with genius, wants judgment ; or who, having a sound judgment wants genius ?

VALDÉS : They are without number, even amongst those whom you know, and with whom you have daily intercourse. I can point you out several.

PACHECO : Which do you hold to be the greater fault in a man, want of genius or want of judgment ?

VALDÉS : Had I to choose, I should prefer a man with but moderate genius and good judgment to one with moderate judgment and great genius.

PACHECO : And why ?

VALDÉS : Because men of great genius lose themselves in heresies and erroneous opinions through want of judgment. *Man has no jewel to compare with that of a sound judgment.*

MARTIO : Dropping this topic, return to your books, and say, what is the other Spanish translation from the Latin which pleased you ?²

VALDÉS : The “Enchiridion,”³ by Erasmus, which the Archdeacon of

¹ “Diálogo de la Lengua,” ed. 1860, p. 176 :—

“Libro de boecio seuerino intitulado dela cōsolacion dela philosophia, agora nueuamente traduzido de latĩ en castellano por estilo nũca ante visto e españa. va el metro e coplas y la psa por medida.”

On the last page :—“Fin del quinto y vltimo libro de boecio seuerino cauallero y senador romano de la cōsolacion natural. deo gratias. Anno domini vniuersalis redēptoris M.d.xvj. xv. iulij. etatis mee xlvij.” followed by El interprete al libro. And below :—

“Fue impresso el psente libro de boecio seuerino por Jacobo crōberger aleman en la muy noble y opulētissima cibdad de Seuilla : en el mes de junio. Año del Señor de M.d.xvij. sm. 4to 68 folios

Gothic let. Dedicated al . . . Señor don Juan Tellez Giron, conde de vreña : señor de penafiel.” by the translator Alberto de Aguayo. For an account of the translator, Fr. Alberto de Aguayo, see Pellicer’s Ensayo, p. 3.

² “Diálogo de la Lengua,” ed. 1860, p. 178.

³ “Enquiridio o manual del Cauallero Christiano Compuesto p̄mero en Latin, por el Ecelēte Famoso Varō D. Erasmo Roterodamo Doctor en sacra Teologia del Cōsejo de su Majestad. Traduzido de alli en Castellano, y despues visto y aprouado por el muy Illustre y Reuerendissimo Señor don Alonso Manriq̄ Arçobispo de Seuilla : Inquisidor general en estos Reynos : y por los Señores de su consejo. Dirigido a muy illustre y Reuerendissimo Señoria : y Impresso por

Alcor turned into Spanish, which I think might, in point of style, compete with the Latin.

MARTIO : If the Spanish style be not better as Spanish, than is the Latin as Latin, he achieved but little who turned it into Spanish.

VALDÉS : It is impossible for you [an Italian], to allow that any one not being an Italian can have a good Latin style.

MARTIO : Have you read no other book, a translation into Spanish, that gratified you ?

VALDÉS : If I have, I forget it.

MARTIO : Besides, I have heard say, that the "Pilgrim" and the "Courtier," "El Pelegrino" and "El Cortesano,"¹ are both well done into Spanish.

VALDÉS : I have not read them ; but believe me that I hold it to be far more difficult to turn a work well into Spanish than into any other language whatever, wholly irrespective of the language from which the translation shall be made.

MARTIO : And why ?

VALDÉS : Because the principal grace and elegance of the Spanish language consists in its metaphorical expressions ; the translator, restricting himself from adding to what he finds written in the language from which he translates, finds it most difficult to give in Spanish that grace and polish which he would give to his own original conception.²

The Dialogue concludes with entreaties to Valdés to revise, and put into form, the short-hand notes made by the secreted amanuensis, and finally winds up with the same graceful modesty of character, and in the same playful manner as it began.

VALDÉS : Then I will give you time to think upon it, and this day week, God willing, we will meet here again to settle this discussion. It is now time to return to Naples ; let our carriages be ordered, and may God's peace attend us ; this repast has cost me so dear that I am warranted in saying, that it has been in the sweat of my brow that I have eaten bread.

MARTIO : I do not concur with you in saying so, for you must confess that the discussion we have held here, though distasteful to you, has been profitable to us ; and but for fear of annoying you, I even thought of secretly introducing a short-hand writer, to record your observations upon the various topics, which were so numerous as to lead me to distrust my memory as to the recollection of them all.

VALDÉS : That you failed to do so, is your loss, and no fault of mine, is it ?

MARTIO : Yes, you are to blame, and greatly so, because at the outset you needed so much pressing that, fearing you should take it amiss, I dared not do what I wished.

VALDÉS : Your timidity was excessive, for what cause should I have had to take it amiss ?

su mandado: En la insigne Universidad de Alcalá de Henares: En casa de Miguel de Eguía. De segundo Impresiõ. En el Mes de Enero de M.D. y xxvij Años."

Con Privilegio Imperial. 4to. 147 leaves, Gothic letter. There are two copies in the library of the British Museum.

This was the edition upon which the persecution of Erasmus's works began in Spain. See the account in chapter II. pp. 42-44.

¹ The "Courtier" by Castiglione. The first edition in Spanish was 1534, by Boscan.

² "Diálogo de la Lengua," 1860, pp. 176-178.

MARTIO : Because I hold you to be so fastidious, that if a mosquito fly across your face nearer than it pleased you, you are annoyed by it.

VALDÉS : Well, you are so far right, that I seek too much to have things done to my liking ; and that I am unduly annoyed when a person whom I like either does or says anything that I dislike, and then I am so frank that I immediately express my feelings undisguisedly. This blemish my friends must needs overlook in me.

MARTIO : It would be better, since you acknowledge it to be a blemish, to lay aside the habit.

VALDES : Better, nay ; but do you not know that death is scarcely more painful than change of habit ?

MARTIO : I know it right well ; but yet difference is to be made betwixt man and man. It is droll that you should wish your friends to tolerate in you that which you yourself hold to be a blemish, whilst you are unwilling to tolerate in them what you hold to be blemishes !

VALDÉS : In saying that differences are to be made betwixt man and man, you are right ; but, on the other hand, you are inconsiderate, for my blemish is more tolerable than those of others, because I recognize it ; and in the mean while there is hope that I shall correct it one day or other ; and again, for this reason those of others are less tolerable than mine, because they do not recognize them, and in the mean while cannot correct them ; and thus I should fail as a friend in duty were I not to tell them of that which appears to me to be wrong. But it is of little importance ; let us be going, for it is late.

MARTIO : It somewhat irritates you that, the subject not being fully settled, there still remains somewhat more for discussion.

VALDÉS : What do you mean by that ?

MARTIO : That you have been held in discussion by us who, striving to acquire a good style, have made you its arbiter, and we fear that in so doing we have caused you great annoyance.

VALDÉS : What ?

MARTIO : Now you will see. Aurelius, give me here your manuscript. There you see the manuscript of all that you have said ; and I have such an opinion of him as a writer that he can justify all that he has written.

VALDÉS : I am glad of it, and may God's blessing attend it ; but with this restriction, however, that you circulate it only amongst yourselves, and do not show it to others, for you see how wrong that would be.

MARTIO : On the contrary, I see the benefit and not the harm, and contemplate putting it in the hands of all who may desire to see it, and even, if it appear to me right to do so, to print it.

VALDÉS : That would be a pretty affair, indeed ! I cannot think that you will be guilty of such indiscretion as that.

PACHECO : Let us cease to beat about the bush ; it will be better to come to the point. I know Señor Valdés, and I know that he will rejoice in his friends asking plainly of him what they wish. And you, Valdés, must know that we all ask it as a favour that you would take these minutes of our discourse, reduce them to order, and express them in good Castilian ; and you are authorized by these gentlemen to make them speak Spanish, though the conversation has been held in Italian.

MARTIO : Nay, we beg you to do so, with all the earnestness we can use, and if you please, make this morning's conversation the first part of the work, and that of this afternoon the second.

VALDÉS : Is this what you kept in reserve as a final result ? Adieu.

MARTIO : Nay, we will not leave the spot, nor shall you, unless you first promise us that you will do what we ask of you.

PACHECO : Do not force us to treat it as for your life, since we know that you are not devoted to any other than similar engagements ; and we

know that you will lend it so good a colouring, and will so perform it, that it will do you, and us, and the spot where we have met, honour.

VALDÉS : It demands, as you see, great consideration ; let me well reflect on it, and if it appear to me a thing to be done, and if I see that I may reasonably accomplish it, I promise you to do it.

MARTIO : This is enough, and in the name of the three I accept the promise, and I now invite you for this day week to hear what Señor Coriolano shall find after mature reflection to say respecting the affinity existing between the Tuscan and the Latin languages.

MARTIO : I have yet one thing to ask, promise me all of you not to deny me it, whomever it may affect.

VALDÉS : I, for my part, promise it, for a crow cannot be blacker than his wings.

PACHECO : I likewise promise it on mine.

CORIOLO : Well, as to me, you already know that you command me at will.

MARTIO : This is my request, that Señor Pacheco (alias Torres) here engage his word to us, to work out in Spanish proverbs that which he says he has frequently contemplated doing.

PACHECO : To avoid discussion, I agree to promise it, deferring however its execution until I find a suitable locality and materials for carrying it out.

VALDÉS : Which will never be realized ; but let it be when it may, what affair of mine is it ? But that which more concerns me, hark ye, is that my horse be brought to the door. Let the horse go at his best pace, I shall not disturb the man who goes before me, nor shall I wait for him who tarries behind me.¹

In November, 1535, Charles V., after his African expedition, came to Naples, where he was received with the honours due to his military success, and in April of the following year passed on to Rome. Juan de Valdés went with him as a gentleman of his suite. The Emperor, before leaving Naples, issued on the 4th of February, 1536, a rigorous edict forbidding all intercourse with Lutherans, or persons suspected of heresy, under pain of death and confiscation of property. The Viceroy,² Don Pedro de Toledo, brother to the Duke of Alva, did not however rigidly enforce it. We do not find that it affected Valdés in the intercourse he carried on there with his friends. He had formed an acquaintance with Garcilasso de la Vega, the celebrated poet, who held a

¹ "Diálogo de la Lengua," 1860, pp. 200-205.

² Various writers, following one another, assert that Juan de Valdés occupied the official post of Secretary to the Viceroy of Naples. We have not, however, found any proof of this opinion earlier than that of Simler, in "Epitome Conradi Gesneri," Tiguri, 1555, fo. 111 b. *Johannes Valdesius Secretarius Regis* [Neapolitani]. But Curione, who five years earlier, in his

notice, prefixed to the CX. Considerationi, 1550, and in *Pasquillas extaticus*, yet five years earlier, 1545, makes no mention of the circumstance. Simler, and the writers who have followed him, have probably confounded the office of his brother, as secretary to the Emperor, with Juan's certain residence and death at Naples. Simler speaks of *Secretarius Regis*, which could not refer to office under a viceroy.

command in the army, and in 1536 perished in the flower of his age, before a petty fortress on the frontiers of France. Of the warrior who, to his bravery united the tenderness of the poet in the most harmonious language of his country, Valdés speaks in his Dialogue, "I am glad that this satisfies you, but I should rather wish to satisfy Garcilasso de la Vega with the other two gentlemen of the Emperor's court whom I know." This was his opinion of Garcilasso's nice judgment upon language. Critical readers of his graceful elegies and sonnets point out passages¹ of pensive seriousness, derived from the influence of his acquaintance with Valdés. Garcilasso brought up the last detachment of Spanish troops to Rome. On Charles's departure from that city, Valdés returned again to Naples, where he finally settled for the short, yet perhaps the most important, period of his remaining years.²

¹ "Obras del Excelente Poeta Garcilasso de la Vega." Año 1612. Eclogue I. fols. 41, 42. Eclogue II. fol. 83. "Elegia al Duque de Alva," fol. 21.

² "Accadde appresso, cioè nel 1535, che con Carlo V. venne in Roma un D. Gio. Valdés nobile Spagnuolo . . . Era costui (mi disse il Card. di Monreale, che se lo recordava) di bell' aspetto e di dolcissime maniere, ed d'un parlare soave ed attrattivo; faceva professione di lingue e di sacra Scrittura, s'annidò in Napoli."—A. Caracciolo, "Vita e Gesti di Paulo IV." MS.

"It happened about this time, that is in the year 1535, there came with Charles V. [from Naples] to Rome one Don Juan de Valdés, a Spanish nobleman. . . . He was, as the Cardinal of Monreale, who remembered him, told me, of a fair countenance, very sweet manners, and soft and attractive speech; he professed a knowledge of languages and of the Holy Scriptures. He was settled at Naples." Charles V. arrived at Naples from Tunis, Nov. 25th, 1535.

CHAPTER V.

AT Naples, Juan de Valdés devoted himself to study, and the improvement of his own moral and intellectual nature. His society was sought by such of the nobility as were most distinguished for piety and learning. Several of the most eminent preachers acknowledged their obligations to him for clearer views of Scripture doctrine, long after those obligations had been incurred. His religious teaching was of a private and individual character. It was attained by personal moral influence of a remarkable kind, by conversations and letters on special subjects and occasions.

The circle which Valdés assembled around him consisted of clergy and laity, gentlemen and ladies. Amongst them may be mentioned the celebrated PETER MARTYR VERMILIUS, who, invited by Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, afterwards exercised a great influence, not only at Oxford, but personally by his friendship with the Bishops Ridley, Latimer, Ponet, Hooper, and Jewel,¹ upon our English Reformation. Peter Martyr preached at Naples nearly three years, 1538—1541. He lectured on the epistles of Paul to the Corinthians in the church of S. Pietro ad Ara, where he drew upon himself particular observation by the manner in which he questioned the generally received doctrine of purgatory, when expounding the passage, "If any man build upon this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble. . . . If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss; but he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire."—1 Cor. iii. 12—15. In this he may well have followed Valdés, who read and explained about the same time the same epistle² in his own house.

BERNARDINO OCHINO di Sienna, the well known preacher, as early as 1536 delivered his eloquent sermons in the church of Giovanni Maggiore at Naples; stirring the souls

¹ John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, passed the greatest part of his time, when in exile, with Peter Martyr in Zurich, and it is said that his learning and conversation were much improved by intercourse with him. Peter Martyr, in a letter of 24th August, 1562, written to him after his return to England, encourages Jewel to publish his well known "Apology of the Church of

England," but died before he saw the book he so much longed for in print. See life of John Jewel, appended to the "Apology," 1685.

² "La Epistola de San Pablo a los Romanos, i la I. a los Corintios. Ambas traduzidas i comentadas por Juan de Valdés. Ahora fielmente reimpressas. Año de 1856. Corintios," pp. 58—61.

of the crowds who attended to hear him by his new manner of interpreting Scripture, not by distinctions of scholastic philosophy, but in a spiritual sense and with a most fervid diction. Charles V., attracted to hear him when he visited Naples on his return from his African expedition, has himself told us the impression the sermons made upon his mind, by his remark that the eloquence of Ochino might make the very stones shed tears.¹ Ochino came by invitation of Cranmer to England, and was stationed by him with Peter Martyr at Oxford.

GIULIO DA MILANO, a professor of theology, who was thrown into the prison of San Gio. Bragela at Venice, where he printed a volume of sermons in Italian, and where Ochino also printed the earliest series of his own, by whose interference Giulio regained his liberty and founded a congregation at Puschiavo in the Grisons, which enjoyed his ministry nearly thirty years. He also laid the foundation of a number of churches in his neighbourhood.²

FABIO MARIO GALEOTA, a Neapolitan gentleman, was a disciple of Juan de Valdés; he was thrown into the prison of the Inquisition at Rome, and had the good fortune to escape on the memorable day of the 18th of August, 1559, when, on the death of Paul IV., the Roman populace attacked the dreaded institution. To him, Garcilasso, who knew him in the mutual society of Valdés at Naples, addressed the celebrated ode, called the "Flower of Gnidus," and his thirty-fifth sonnet, beginning "Mario, el ingrato amor como testigo."

BENEDETTO CUSANO, Peter Martyr's fellow student at Padua, with whom he applied himself with such zeal in the study of the Greek language that they spent whole nights together; the first rays of morning light appearing through the windows of the library, alone reminded them of the

¹ Antonio Castaldo in "Raccolta dell' Istoria del Regno di Napoli," vol. vi. p. 66.

² Giulio da Milano wrote under the disguised name of Hieronymo Savonese. See "Catalogo," by Vergerio, 1549. The treatises from his pen, which we have seen, are these:—

1. Opere Christiane e Catholiche di Messer Hieronymo Savonese, A gloria d'Iddio, et vtilita de Christiani stampate. Colophon: In Gineura, per Lorenzo Merlino e Fratelli. Nel MD.LXXXXIII. a li xxii. di Nouembre Stampata (124 leaves, sm. 8vo., Italic letter).

2. Pie et Christiane epistole, com-

poste da uno seruo di Iddio alla consolatione de fedeli frategli in Christo Giesu Signore, e Salvatore nostro. Della fede. Della efficacia della fede. Delle opere. De meriti. Della charità. Impossibile è senza fe de piacere à Iddio. Pavlo agli Ebrei, cap. xi. (s. l. et. a., 36 leaves, sm. 8vo., in Roman letter).

In the Bodleian Library are: "Exhortatione al Martirio di Giulio da Milano riueduta et ampliata, s. l. 1552," and "The XLIII. Sermon of M. Giulio di Milane touchyng the Lordes Supper. Dedicated to the worshipfull mystres Anne Carowe." 31 leaves, 4to. B.L.

lapse of time. Thus they read the orators, philosophers, and best poets, and obtained that knowledge of the originals which enabled them to study the New Testament at the fountain head.

GIOVANNO MOLLIO, of Montalcino, near Sienna, who filled the station of lecturer in the monastery of San Lorenzo at Naples. He read lectures chiefly on Paul's epistles, which were attended by monks of different convents, by many of the nobility, and by individuals of the episcopal order.

LORENZO ROMANO, a Sicilian convert, who had not counted the cost, and fell away in the hour of persecution.

GIAMBATTISTA FOLENGO, the pious and learned Benedictine prior, of Monte Cassino, who, in his retreat of Albaneta, finished his admirable Commentary on the Psalms, in 1542, which abounds with sentiments similar to those in the writings of Flaminio, accompanied with severe strictures on the superstitious practices which the priests and friars recommended to the people.

GIOVANNI FRANCISCO DE ALOYS, named CASERTA, the intimate friend of Flaminio, a man richly endowed with learning and property, and full of generous qualities. He introduced his noble kinsman, GALEAZZO CARACCIOLI, the eldest son of the Marquis of Vico, to the sermons of Peter Martyr. He was so powerfully affected by them, that after receiving an eloquent letter of congratulation and encouragement from Marc Antonio Flaminio, he laid down his honours, and although he had a wife and family who refused to accompany him, left his beloved country and went into exile for the love and liberty of the Gospel. Caserta, at a later period, testified the constancy of his convictions, by laying down his life rather than abandon them. In March, 1564, he, together with another nobleman, Giambernardino di Gargano d'Aversa, was beheaded and burnt in the market-place of Naples.¹

MARC ANTONIO FLAMINIO, already distinguished as a Latin poet, who, having been in the suite of Cardinal Sauli, a lover of learning, and subsequently in that of the Datary Giberti, had come to Naples, in 1538, to re-establish his health. He remained there until December, 1540. He was a man after Valdés' own spirit. The letter ²

¹ See the depositions before the Inquisition of the witnesses against him in an "*inedited document*" appended to Dr. Ed. Behmer's valuable "*Cenni Biografici sui fratelli Giovanni e Alfonso di Valdesso*," 1861, published by him with "*Le Cento edieci Divine Considerazioni*

di Giovanni Valdesso." Halle in Sassonia, 1860, pp. 599—603.

² "*Lettere volgari di diversi eccellentissimi Hvomini*." Libro secondo. Vinezia, 1545, fol. 54—56. Flaminio's letter to Galeazzo Caracciola is generally known; this letter, and also that ad-

he wrote to Theodorina Sauli, a lady belonging to a noble family in Genoa, if not as to the style, yet in the sentiments and arrangement, harmonizes with the teaching of Valdés; everywhere we find the warmest piety and purest morality, founded on Scriptural principles and enforced by the most evangelical motives.

JACOPO BONFADIO, who followed Valdés with poetical enthusiasm. His charming and tender letter, lamenting his death, addressed to Carneseccchi, will be given hereafter.

PIETRO CARNESECCHI, the papal Prothonotary, secretary of Clement VII., of a distinguished Florentine family, whose ancestors sat in the Senate of the Republic, a man of elegant learning and refined manners, whose society was the charm of his friends. Cardinal Pole, writing of him to Cardinal Contarini, says, "The remainder of the day was spent in the holy and profitable society of Signor Carneseccchi and our Marc Antonio Flaminio. I call it profitable, because in the evening Marc Antonio gave me, and most of my family, a supper, 'of that bread which perishes not,' in such a manner that I know not when I have felt greater consolation, or greater edification."¹ Carneseccchi possessed an abbacy at Naples. He used the writings of Valdés and procured their publication. He was called to Rome, in 1546, to defend himself against suspicions of holding erroneous sentiments. He rebutted all the imputations of his accusers, and returned to his abbey at Naples, where he then resided, enjoying the fairest reputation with the highest personages, as a man of great learning and unspotted integrity. In 1565 he was a second time brought to Rome, and on the 3rd of October, 1567, was burnt alive, and not beheaded according to Galuzzi.

Nor did the influence of those who received the impulse from Valdés extend less to the women and common people than to the preachers of Naples and the Terra di Lavoro—Sessa, Capua, Caserta, Gaeta, &c., who listened with earnestness to the addresses of Marc Antonio Flaminio on the "Spiritual life," and of Francisco de Aloys at Caserta. Folengo, the Prior of Monte Cassino, describes the effect of these addresses in these words: "We are here present at

dressed to Carlo Gualteruzzi, in which he makes some just remarks upon the tendency of Thomas a Kempis's "Imitation of Christ," are to be found in McCrie's Appendix to his "History of the Reformation in Italy." They are better read in the Italian, in which language they were written, than in the Latin of Schelhorn. Flaminio was one

of the persons who revised the "Beneficio di Christo" (Benefit of Christ's Death) in its present form. It is certain that he wrote an apology in defence of it, which, it would appear, however, was not printed.

¹ Poli "Epistolæ" III. 42, ad Card. Gasp. Contarini, di Viterbo, alli ix di Dicembre, 1541.

a most extraordinary spectacle; we see women who would appear to have been born more prone to vanity than to serious reflection, men untutored and soldiers, affected in such a manner by the knowledge of divine mysteries, that where ought is anywhere heard relating to 'perfection of life,' it generally originates with them. O this is indeed the golden age! Throughout my native Campania there is no preacher so learned but that he would become wiser and holier from converse with such women."

The ladies, with whom Valdés now associated at Naples, belonged to the higher ranks of society. Of those who embraced his scriptural doctrine we may in the first place name the noble Spanish lady ISABELLA MANRIQUE da Bresegna,¹ sister of a cardinal. She zealously laboured to promote evangelical faith, and when persecution arose at Naples, immediately after the death of Valdés, she resolutely withdrew to Zurich. She finally settled at Chiavenna, in the Valtelline, preferring a life of retirement and poverty, with liberty of conscience, to the ease and opulence of Naples. To her Curione dedicated the first edition, 1557, of his *Life of Olympia Morata*, and Ochino his treatise on the Sacrament.²

CONSTANZA D' AVALOS, DUCHESSA DI AMALFI, of a noble Spanish family, who, like many of the Italian ladies of this period, gave her mind to the love and study of poetry. A canzone of great beauty for its versification, elevated thought, and pious sentiment, written by her, is found appended to the poetry of Vittoria Colonna, and is worthy of the place in which we find it.

VITTORIA COLONNA, MARCHESANA DI PESCARA, daughter of Fabrizio Colonna, Grand Constable of Naples, the youthful widow of Ferrante d'Avalos, Marquis of Pescara, Charles V.'s commander at the battle of Pavia. After the death of her husband, to whom she was romantically and devotedly attached, in the flower of her age, she dedicated her life to sacred studies, poetry, and retirement. Her sonnets,³ com-

¹ It was an accusation against Carnesecchi, that "he was cognizant of a provision of 100 crowns a year sent by a person friendly to him . . . to Donna Isabella Brisegna [Isabella Manrique da Brisegna], a heretic, a fugitive at Zurich, and afterwards at Chiavenna." "Trial of Carnesecchi," by Richard Gibbins, B.D., p. 21.

² "Disputa di M. Bernardino da Siena, etc." Basilea 1561, 8vo., dedicated *Alla illustriss. Signora Donna Isabella Mauricha Bresegna*, etc.

C. S. Curio. *Olympiæ Fvlviæ Moratæ*

Mulieris omnivm ervdissimæ Latina, etc. ad *Ill. Isabellam Bresegnam*. Basilee, 1558. 8vo.

³ "Tvtte le Rime della illvstriss. et eccellentiss. Signora Vittoria Colonna, Marchesana di Pescara. . . . da Girolamo Rvscelli." Venetia, 1558, II. iij^b.

"Dale tenebre oscure al lume chiaro
Con puro alto pensier, che dolcemente
Acqueta l' alma, e fa lieta la mente
M' inuio, lasciando il peso e 'l cibo
amaro." . . .

pared to the verses of Ariosto, were the admiration of her contemporaries, and are read in various editions with pleasure at the present time. She resided at her villa on the island of Ischia, having frequent intercourse with Naples. Her circumstances, her taste, and her sentiments opened her heart to the religious teaching of Valdés, whose assemblies she attended, and it requires no great stretch of imagination to conceive the joy with which her heavy-laden spirit listened to the holy truths which he set forth. She afterwards retired to the convent of St. Caterina at Viterbo, the place at which, on her journey to see her dying husband, the sad and fatal news of his death first reached her. Here she enjoyed the society of Cardinal Pole and Flaminio, who resided at Viterbo, and occasionally that of Carnesecci and Cardinal Contarini. On her visits to Rome she enjoyed the friendship of MICHAEL ANGELO BUONAROTTI, who addressed several sonnets to her, and, when looking upon her body after death, modestly and respectfully kissed her hand, regretting afterwards that he had not kissed her forehead, that nobler part, the seat of that intellectual and moral beauty which had inspired him with admiring affection.

Of all the noble ladies who were attracted to the sphere of Juan de Valdés, GIULIA GONZAGA, DUCHESS OF TRAJETTO and COUNTESS OF FONDI, was the one who drank deepest of his instructions and towards whom his mind was most forcibly brought into exercise. Her noble faculties, her pursuit of the highest virtue, and the loveliness of her mind and person, alike engaged his regard. He longed to lead her into the way of Christian perfection by the royal road of the Gospel, and strove to guide her in the path by the most assiduous endeavours. He has left the record of those efforts which she preserved through difficulty and danger, and which has been thus reserved for our use and instruction at the present time. Of her we must speak more at length.

GIULIA GONZAGA, or as she signed her name after her marriage, GIULIA DE GONZAGA COLONNA, was the eldest daughter of Ludovico, or Luigi, Gonzaga, Duke of Sabbionetta, a branch of the family of the Dukes of Mantua, who married, in 1497, Francesca di Gianluigi Fieschi, of Genoa. Giulia was born at Gazzuolo about the year 1499. As she grew in years, and while yet young, she was admired by all who beheld her for the beauty of her person, the brightness of her intellect, and the virtues of her heart;—kindness, courtesy, and discretion, joined with an engaging candour, won all hearts in her favour. The poets of the time celebrated

her in their verses,—Ariosto, Molza and Porrino, and particularly Bernardo, father of Torquato Tasso, who, residing at Sorrento, on the opposite shore of the Bay of Naples, had the most favourable opportunities of knowing and esteeming her character and of enjoying the charms of her virtuous conversation. In what sense he appreciated them is displayed by the following sonnets :—

SONNETS OF BERNARDO TASSO TO
GIULIA GONZAGA.

SONETTO CLXXXVIII.

*Donna real, la cui beltà infinita
Formò di propria man' l' alto Fattore,
Perch' accese del suo gentile ardore
Volgeste l' alme alla beata vita,
La cui grazia divina ogn' uno invita
All' opre degne di perpetuo onore
Ne' cui lume sereni onesto amore
Per un raro miracolo s'addita :
Virtù, senno, valore, e gentilezza
Vanno con voi ; come col giorno il sole ;
O siccome col ciel le stelle ardente :
L'andar celeste, il riso, e le parole
Piene d' alti intelletti, e di dolcezza,
Son di vostra beltà ricchi ornamenti.¹*



With His own hand the Everblest Creator,
O royal Lady, fashioned thee to shine
A radiant Presence,—that to Him, thy maker,
Thou shouldst draw many to the life divine ;
Thine eyes—the fire of chastest love uniting
With actions worthy of perpetual name—
Warm every breast with sacred love ; inviting
Where Beauty leads along the paths of Fame.
Virtue with mind, power with gentleness,
Go with thee forth as with the day the sun,
Or glowing stars in galaxy possess
Their radiant field and skyey circles run.
Thy heavenly course, the smile, the lucid speech,
Full of intelligence and sweetness, teach
What Beauty's richest graces are in each.

¹ "Rime di M. Bernardo Tasso," these sonnets serve to show the influence edizicæ dal Pierantonio Serassi. the teaching of Valdés had upon the Bergamo, 1749, 2 vol. 12mo. character and after-life of Giulia Gonzaga. They represent the kind of

SONETTO CLV.

*Pellegrina gentil, che questa e quella
 Parte del cielo con l'ingegno altero
 Cercando, per trovar il bene e 'l vero,
 Vi fate più d'ogn' altra adorna e bella ;
 Lucente, vaga, e fortunata stella,
 Al cui splendor si volge ogni pensiero,
 Che mostrate il sicuro e bel sentero
 D'uscir d'ognimondana atra procella ;
 Gemma, dove si vede impressa e viva
 L'immagine di Dio ; dove si mira
 Ogni forma di gloria e di valore ;
 Specchio di vero ben, di vero onore ;
 Idea della beltà celeste e diva ;
 Felice l'alma, che per voi sospira.¹*



O gentle Pilgrim ! seeking where to find
 The grace and glory of the Perfect Mind
 To make thine own more lovely and refined ;
 Star of the morning ! whose resplendent glow,
 To guide us through this world of shades below,
 Lights the safe path in which our feet should go ;
 Seal ! where the features of thy God appear
 In living lines, and, lustreously clear,
 Each form of beauty and of goodness here,—
 Divine Idea ! goddesslike to be
 Glass of His Truth, our Supreme Good to see,
 Blest is the soul that yearns in sighs for thee.



Giulia herself was known as a poetess in an age of good writing. The sonnets of Donna Giulia, scattered in various early collections, were gathered into a volume and published at Bergamo in 1750. At the early age of thirteen she married Vespasiano Colonna, Duke of Trajetto and Count of Fondi, in the kingdom of Naples, a widower of the mature age of forty, with a daughter named Isabella. Having a con-

impression made upon the minds of her friends and admirers, as though Bernardo Tasso deduced *from her life* literally the advice Valdés had years before given her in his Epistle addressed to her, with his MS. of his translation and commentary on Romans.

"Always endeavouring to perfect yourself in what concerns piety, and in

all that relates to the Gospel, in such manner that, as your mind becomes able to take Christ and God for your patterns, you will come to draw your own portrait to the nature of the very image of Christ, and to the real image of God, that your picture may serve as a pattern to others."

About 1536.

¹ "Rime," &c., *ut supra*.

stitution rendered infirm by his military service, their happy union lasted but a few years. He manifested his estimate of Giulia's qualifications by committing to her, by his will, at so early an age, the administration of his estates and the guardianship of his daughter Isabella, the sole offspring of his former marriage. Graced with talents, wealth, station, youth, and beauty, retired in her castle of Fondi, Giulia received the most pressing solicitations to marry a second time; nor were there wanting many reasons for such a step, if only for the protection of her fortune and honour in an age of misrule and violence. She however rejected all entreaties, choosing for her emblem, according to the practice, at that time, of the ladies of Italy, the flower of the amaranth, with the motto: *NON MORITURA*, "it will not die," expressive of her unchangeable attachment to her deceased husband.¹ Her daughter-in-law, Isabella, married, in 1528, for her first husband, Giulia's brother, Luigi Gonzaga, Lord of Gazzuolo, surnamed Rodomonte, on account of his romantic bravery. The Pope, Clement VII. (Giulio de' Medici), opposed their union, wishing the connection for his nephew Ippolito; but Isabella's steady attachment to Luigi triumphed over all obstacles, while Ippolito de' Medici vainly made the most pressing solicitations for Giulia herself. He translated and sent to her the second book of the *Æneid*, prefixing a dedication to her, expressive of the warmest attachment, in the style of the time.² After her husband's demise, two candidates arose to assert their claims to the estates: Ascanio

¹ Hilarion de Coste. "Après la mort de son mary . . . jamais elle ne vouloit bannir de son cœur l'affection qu'elle luy avoit portée; ce que luy fit prendre pour devise la fleur que nous appellons *Amarante*, ou *Passe-velous*, que les Médecins et les Herbiens appellent *Fleur d'Amour*; car comme cette belle fleur, qui passe de couleur le velous cramoisi rouge, lors que toutes les autres fleurs sont desia pasées, est encore fraische, et ne se fane point; de sorte que les Bouquetières en font des bouquets en plein hyuer: ainsi son amour ne se diminuëtoit, ne se changeroit, ou ne s'esteindroit jamais durant les tristes jours, et les funestes années de sa viduité, comme declarent ces mots tirez de Virgile, en ses *Bucoliques*, qui animoient cette belle devise: *NON MORITURA*—Elle ne mourra point."

"Les *Eloges de les Vies des Reynes, Princesses et des Dames illustrées en pieté, en courage et en doctrine.*" Paris: 1647, 4to. tom. ii. p. 97.

The motto *NON MORITURA*, adopted by Giulia Gonzaga, in reference to the

undying love she cherished for the memory of her deceased husband, is adopted on the title-page of this work, because she experienced the same constant sentiment of affectionate attachment to the teaching of Valdés as led her to preserve his writings through long years of suspicion and danger. Her motto was characteristic of her mind, and hence she might well have said of the 110 Considerations: *NON MORITURA*.

² The second book of the *Æneid*, translated by Hippolito de' Medici, was printed at Rome in 1538, 4to., and in Venice in 1539.

The copy I have seen forms part of a small volume with the title: *I sei primi libri del Eneide di Vergilio, tradotti à più illustre et honorate Donne, et tra l'altre à la nobilissima e diuina Madonna Aurelia Tolomei de Borghesi, à cui ancho e indirizzato tutto il presente uolume.* MD.XXXX. (in Venetia)."

"Il secondo di Vergilio di Hippolito de Medici, Cardinale, a la Signora Givlia Gonzaga. M.D.XXXX." (23 leaves.)

Colonna on one side, and Napoleone Orsini, Abbot of Torfa, in the kingdom of Naples, on the other. The Pope, Clement VII., substantiated her rights by her husband's will, and Charles V., as sovereign, commissioned her brother Luigi, in 1532, to put her again into possession. Whilst endeavouring to recover the castle of Nicovara, he was wounded in the assault, in the shoulder, by a shot from an arquebuse; the castle, however, yielded, but Luigi died from the effects of the wound in the presence of Isabella, at the age of thirty-three years, recommending his young widow to Giulia's care, and leaving an infant son, named Vespasiano, then scarcely twelve months old. As soon as the boy had passed the years of infancy, Isabella having married for her second husband Carlo de Lanoja, Prince of Sulmona, he was assigned, by virtue of his father's will, to the guardianship of his paternal grandfather, and at his death, in 1540, came under the care of his aunt Giulia, to bring up and educate, being then about eight years of age. In 1533 Giulia returned to Fondi, where she once more took up her abode.

Her residence at Fondi and the society she attracted to it are mentioned in the poems and letters of some of the best writers of the time. They made her praises known, and her celebrity was not confined to Italy. The distinction of her name, together with the maritime situation of Fondi, exposed her to a stroke of unexpected danger, from which she very narrowly escaped. In the twilight of a September evening of 1534, the galleys of Hyradin Barbarossa, the corsair, who afterwards became Dey of Tunis, were discovered off the Bay of Naples, steering to the northward. In the dead of night he came abreast of Fondi, and immediately disembarked his men. Little resistance to so unexpected an attack could be made by the townspeople, and the inmates of the castle had retired to rest for the night. The uproar and clamour in the town gave the first alarm at the castle. Giulia, roused by her domestics, while the corsairs were already making the assault, fled by a passage to the drawbridge that led to a gallery in the rock, and climbing through an opening, found herself upon the hill-side. A horse being procured, she mounted, and gave free rein to Vallacorsa, where she rested. Barbarossa having missed the chief object, for which he might have expected at least a weighty ransom, and finding the country alarmed and the forces assembling, plundered the town and re-embarked with the booty. Among the nobility who hastened to the defence of the place was one who had a more personal motive than the rest. Ippolito de' Medici, rather a warrior

than a priest, although he had now given up secular pursuits and become a cardinal, hearing of Giulia's danger, hastily assembled a body of horse in Rome, and led them himself to her rescue. The crisis, however, had passed away; and whilst he was entertained for a short time with gratitude at the castle, he solicited Giulia's permission to allow her portrait to be painted for himself,—a favour she was not then in a position to refuse, if indeed there were any sufficient reason for so doing. Upon his return to Rome, he sent Sebastiano del Piombo, the best portrait-painter of the time, to Fondi. He went, attended by a retinue of four horsemen, for the purpose. He was entertained there a month, and returned to Rome with the portrait: "a divine picture," says Vasari, with which the Cardinal was highly pleased.¹ In August of the following year he passed from Itri again to Fondi. Giulia was absent. Remaining at Fondi during the day, he returned to Itri; but having taken cold, he fell sick of a fever, and there died.

At this period, 1535, Giulia had left Fondi and taken up her abode in Naples, where she occupied a house in the Borgo delle Vergini, keeping up an establishment and servants suitable to her rank. There she transacted business and received visits; but to avoid scandal to her character in so large and promiscuous a city, she herself took up her residence at the Franciscan convent of Santa Chiara. The Pope granted a brief to allow her to reside there as a secular person, that is, as one not bound by the rules of the cloister.² This arrangement continued uninterrupted for a period of thirty years, during the remainder of her life. Isabella had married Carlo de Lanoja, Prince of Sulmona, as before mentioned. In the double connection of daughter-in-law and sister-in-law, she now stirred up a long and painful contention against Giulia, asserting that the testament of her father, Vespasiano Colonna, by virtue of which Giulia received the income of the estate during her widowhood, was null and void; and she refused besides to give up certain jewels and other precious heirlooms which had been lent to her. Lawyers were consulted, and finding the case ambiguous,

¹ The picture of Giulia Gonzaga, painted by Sebastiano, went into the collection of Francis I. of France, at Fontainebleau. A portrait, said to be the same, having the attributes of a saint, S. Agatha or S. Apollonia, the nimbus and pincers, afterwards adorned the Borghese Palace at Rome. It was purchased by the Rev. W. Holwell Carr, and bequeathed by

him to the National Gallery, London, together with a companion picture by the same master, containing portraits of the painter and his patron, that represents the artist taking up a purse of money from off a document which the Cardinal appears to have just written.

² Vita di Giulia Gonzaga. MS.

Giulia was inclined to a fair compromise, as she declared in a letter to her brother, Don Ferrante Gonzaga. The Emperor Charles V., coming to Naples in 1535, on his return from Africa, the case was laid before him. He referred it to the decision of Don Pedro de Toledo, the Viceroy, recommending by letter, dated the 12th of October, 1535, that the cause should be amicably disposed of by mutual agreement.¹ After various discussions before the Viceroy on the subject, it was adjudged that Giulia should be satisfied with her dowry and the addition left to her by her husband. This did not put an end to Isabella's importunity, who continued the contention, wishing for herself the addition of the pin-money (*sopraddote*), amounting in the aggregate to 13,000 ducats. She required that a judicial disposition she herself had made should be rendered void, although the validity of the deeds by which it was settled remained unshaken. Isabella then offered to give Giulia 500 ducats annually for the support and maintenance of her household, but once more changed her mind. Hence Charles V. deputed, by diploma of the 27th of February, 1536, three members of his council as commissioners, to give judgment as justice required. A great part of the year 1536 was spent in this unpleasant affair. On the 8th of June, 1537, Giulia wrote to her brother respecting the issue of the suit: "The judges have decreed the Signora Isabella to pay me 2,500 ducats annually, in quarterly payments (*terza per terza*), and 1,000 ducats down for lapsed time." Thus ended this troublesome affair, to which allusion appears to be made in her conversation with Valdés. "Many years have I lived in the manner I describe, and during this time, as *you know*, various circumstances have happened to me sufficient to disturb a tranquil spirit, more especially a soul so disquieted as mine."

It was precisely under these perplexing circumstances that her intimate acquaintance with Juan de Valdés took place, and that the conversation, detailed with great clearness in a volume entitled the "ALFABETO CRISTIANO,"² was held. These incidents serve to explain some parts of the Dialogue: the return in the evening from hearing the preacher's sermon; the prolonged conversation carried on

¹ The letter is given in Spanish by Affo; it is addressed to Giulia Gonzaga, signed by Charles V., and countersigned by his secretary Idiagues.—*Memorie di tre Principesse*, p. 40.

² "*Alfabeto Cristiano, che insegna la vera via d'acquistare il lume dello Spirito Santo.* Stampata con gratia et priuilegio

l'anno M. D. XLVI." s. l. fol. 76, sm. 8vo. Reprinted with two modern translations in Spanish and in English. London, MDCCCLXI. 8vo. One hundred copies only of the English translation, by Benjamin B. Wiffen, were published 1861, 8vo.

in her house to a late hour; how Valdés could have assisted her in her outward affairs by his intercourse with the Viceroy and the Emperor; and the reason why Valdés endeavours so much to impress upon her mind an entire dependence upon God and faith in His promises for outward support; the duty of forgiveness of injuries; the sacrifice of mere worldly honour; and they also explain a certain clause in her will, by which she directs that 350 ducats be paid down "to the Signora Donna Isabella, Principessa di Sulmona, in lieu of a certain chalice and patena, and certain pearls and a silver basin, that came into my possession from her mansion, and which may be valued at this sum."

By the will of Ludovico, his paternal grandfather, in June, 1540, the tutelage of Isabella's son Vespasiano, then proceeding Duke of Sabbionetta, devolved upon the care of his aunt Giulia. She immediately despatched MARCO ANTONIO MAGNO as ambassador to the court of Charles V., at that time at Brussels, to secure the investiture of the state of Lombardy for her nephew, and to solicit that the former administrators of the state might be superseded by the Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga and Don Ferrante, Viceroy of Sicily, his brother. In September, 1541, the Emperor issued a favourable diploma, and immediately Giulia proceeded with Vespasiano's education, providing for him the best instructors in Tuscan, Greek, and Latin. As he grew up, he evidenced the fruits of her care and judgment by his general character, and especially by his love of letters. He granted the Jews a license to establish a Hebrew press at Sabbionetta, from which issued several editions of the Pentateuch, Psalter, and Rabbinical Commentaries. He died in 1591, and in him the Dukes of Sabbionetta became extinct.

Valdés had been removed by death from the persecutions to come, which seem to have been foreshadowed in his own mind, towards the close of the year 1540. Carnesecchi, who possessed an abbacy at Naples, was there in the December of that year, and was probably with him in his last hours; he took the place of Valdés in Giulia's confidence. It appears that she was the "Italian Princess" to whom he was afterwards accused of having recommended two teachers who were sent to open schools in her territory for the instruction of children, but whose opinions becoming suspected, they were apprehended by the Inquisition. When he was called to Rome, about February, 1546, to defend himself against suspicions of holding erroneous sentiments, Giulia Gonzaga was questioned about her correspondence with him. He rebutted all the imputations of

his accusers, and returned to his abbey at Naples, where he then resided, enjoying the fairest reputation with the highest personages as a man of great learning and unspotted integrity. A second time, in 1565, during his last trial under Pius V., Giulia's name being found in a portion of his correspondence with Calvin, her latter days were disturbed by the vexations of the Holy Office, and it is said that they shortened her life. This may or may not have been the case, for she had already attained to an advanced period of life. And a quiet and perhaps welcome death in a home where she had passed nearly one half of her life, arrived to prevent any further molestation, and also to remove her from the painful knowledge of the cruel death which shortly afterwards overtook Carneseccchi. Having made her will a second time, she left, with the exception of a number of small legacies, her nephew Vespasiano her heir. It is to be observed that in drawing it up she did not follow the practice common in that age of recommending the departing spirit, not to God only, but also to the Virgin and the prayers of the Church; her faith, it appears, held it to be all-sufficient to trust her soul to her Creator and her Saviour. With a beautiful sentiment of confiding humility, "if it be worthy to be received into eternal life," she bequeathed her soul to the Lord God Almighty, her long-suffering Father, and to Jesus Christ, His Son, her Redeemer. Thus, without prescribing any ceremony for her funeral, but the place of interment, in the full possession of her mental faculties to the last moment of her life, she expired on the 19th of April, 1566, aged sixty-seven, and was interred in the church of Santa Chiara, according to her last desire.¹

The precise manner which Valdés observed when he began his instruction of Giulia Gonzaga will be seen in extracts given from the "Alfabeto Cristiano," a book unknown even to bibliographers for the last three centuries. It had its origin in an actual conversation between Juan de Valdés and the Duchess, at Naples, about the close of 1535 or the beginning of the following year. At her request it was immediately put into form and written down by him in Spanish, to refresh her memory. It was translated into

¹ "Memorie di tre Principesse della famiglia Gonzaga offerte a sua ecc. il Signor Conte Stefano Sanvitale Parmigiano, gentiluomo di camera con esercito ed essente delle reali guardie del corpo di S. A. R. in occasione delle sue felicissime nozze con sua eccel. la

Signora Principessa Donna Luigia Gonzaga Mantovano." Parma, 1787, 4to. The account of Giulia Gonzaga occupies eighty-four pages. It is also in the "Raccolta Ferrarese." Vinegia, 1781, vol. viii. pp. 147-188.

Italian for her by her own *procuratore*, Marc Antonio Magno. This translation is now our only original, the Spanish having perished in manuscript. Valdés addressed the work to her in an epistle in which he states the occasion that gave rise to it.

TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS LADY, SIGNORA
DONNA GIULIA GONZAGA.

Constrained by the commands of your most illustrious Ladyship, contrary to my own opinion, I have written as a dialogue all that religious conversation in which we were so deeply interested the other day when returning from the sermon, that only the lateness of the hour forced us to break it off. If I rightly remember, no point on which we then discoursed is here omitted, nor is any subject we then discussed, left unexamined. Let your Ladyship read it when you have leisure; and if you find anything wanting or superfluous, or if anything afresh occur to you in reply to what is here stated, inform me of it; because by erasing the one and inserting the other, the Dialogue will at length be left perfectly conformable to your wishes; for my purpose in writing it has solely been to please and satisfy your Ladyship.

This reason may serve at the same time as an answer to such persons who, on reading this Dialogue, may think it much too strict and rigorous, and as a reply to others to whom it may appear as much too free and unguarded: both classes forgetting that I did not discourse it with them, nor write it for them, but *with* your Ladyship, and *for* your Ladyship; including, however, all such persons who, in your name, and as an affair entirely your own, may incline to make use and avail themselves of it.

In return for the labour I have for several days employed in writing this treatise, I desire from your Ladyship only two things. One is, that you may give to what you will here read no trust or belief further than as it appears and is made clear to you, that it has a foundation in the Scriptures, and invites and leads you forward to that perfect Christian love which is the mark by which Christ desires His followers should be distinguished from all other persons. The other thing is: that you make use of this Dialogue as children use a grammar when they learn Latin, in the manner of a Christian alphabet, in which you may learn the rudiments of Christian perfection, making it your aim, the elements being attained, to leave the alphabet and apply your soul to things more important, more excellent, more divine. It is expedient that your Ladyship do as I say, as much for your own advantage as for my safety. Because if you do so, I shall not then have fallen into the error of those persons who sell their own writings and imaginations at the same price for which they barter Holy Scripture; nor your Ladyship into the mistake, far more hurtful than beneficial, into which those persons fall who, with a pious simplicity, apply themselves to the mere writings of men, without looking for something far beyond them. It frequently happens to such persons that, finding in those writings the milk of rudimental doctrine, they take so much relish in it that, persuading themselves they can gain from it the higher consolations that belong to Christian perfection, they are not careful to go forward and seek the aliment of the perfect Christian, which is to be found in the Sacred Scriptures alone. Because those only in some measure accommodate themselves to the capacity of their readers, who at first give the milk of the word, and afterwards present the stronger food to the more proficient for their nourishment. Hence it arises that such persons, depending upon men and always reading their writings, remain imperfect,

and yet frequently judge of and satisfy themselves that they have reached perfection. Now, desiring that your Ladyship may never judge yourself perfect, but that you may be so in reality, both in the view of God and of the world, I wish you not so to read this composition, nor to hold it in greater estimation than ought to be given to the writings of one who, desirous to gratify you in this Christian object, only points out to you the way by which you may arrive at Christ Himself, and become united with Him.

And I desire that your Christian intention may be to make Christ the peaceful possessor of your heart, in such a manner that He may absolutely and without contradiction rule and regulate all your affairs. And when your Ladyship shall have done this, believe me that you will not feel the want of anything whatsoever in this present life that can give you entire contentment and repose. Because Christ Himself will dispose all things and provide the most pleasant banquets for you, even the knowledge of His Divinity, in which in quietness and confidence you shall lie down and slumber. And when I shall know and see that your Ladyship is in this glorious state, assured and certain of your spiritual progress, I shall not hesitate to believe that my intention in this work has been altogether a Christian one, and that your Ladyship has perused it with a mind, pure, humble, and discreet.

May God, our Lord, make it suitable for your illustrious Ladyship's need, and for the object which I, as your most affectionate servant, perpetually desire!

Naples (1535).

JUAN DE VALDÉS.

The reader will apprehend the manner of the Dialogue from a few pages with which it commences.

GIULIA GONZAGA.—JUAN DE VALDÉS.

GIULIA: I have so much confidence in our friendship, that I seem as if I could freely communicate to you even those things that we scarcely disclose to the ears of a confessor. Therefore, wishing now to impart to you some things more important to me than life itself, I entreat you, if you have not more urgent business elsewhere, to listen attentively to what I wish to say to you. And if you think you cannot attend closely to me now, through having your thoughts engaged elsewhere, pray tell me frankly, and if so, I can defer it to another day.

VALDÉS: On the contrary, Signora, I receive as a favour whatever you command me; and you know already that I have no business which can hinder me, especially in what relates to your service.

GIULIA: Now, setting aside all vain rhetoric and useless ceremony, which between us are quite superfluous, I wish you to know that I live almost continually so dissatisfied with myself, and in like manner with all things in the world, and so out of conceit with them, that if you saw my heart, I am sure you would pity me; for in it you would find, if not confusion, at least inquietude and perplexity. And of these I have sometimes more, sometimes less, according to the nature of the circumstances that present themselves. But I never feel so much serenity of mind, that, wishing to come to a settlement with it, I can conclusively understand what it is that I would wish for, or what thing would satisfy it, or with what it would rest contented. Hence I cannot conceive what can now be offered to me, sufficient to remove this my confusion of mind, appease my inquietude, and resolve this perplexity. Many years have I lived in the manner I describe, and during this time, as you know, various circumstances have happened to me sufficient to disturb a tranquil spirit, much more a soul so disquieted and confused as mine. Besides this, you know, that when I

heard the first sermons from our preacher [Ochino], you persuaded me by your words that by means of this doctrine I should be able to tranquillize and settle my mind in peace ; but up to this time I find it altogether the reverse of what I thought. And although I attribute this more to my own imperfections than to any defect in him, yet altogether it gives me pain to perceive that my hopes have not been realized. This disappointment might be tolerable, yet the evil is that, instead of being cured of one infirmity, I have fallen into another without being released from the former. This is a most heavy and cruel contrariety, so much so that I feel so weary and disgusted with myself, that tears frequently come into my eyes through not knowing what to do with myself or what to lean upon. The sermons of the preacher have produced this contrariety in my mind. Through them I see myself violently assailed, on one side by the fear of hell and the love of paradise, and on the other by the dread of people's tongues and the love of the world's honour. In this manner two kinds of fear and two of affection, or, to speak more correctly, two affections of fear and two different ones of love, are fighting within me, and have kept me such as I am for some days. If you could feel what I now feel, you might truly wonder how I can pass it off and conceal it as I do. This is what I find within me, and in this state, good and bad, which I have described as well as I know how, my affairs remain. Now, since you have shown so much affection and good-will as to aid me in my outward concerns,¹ I entreat you to be ready to assist and counsel me in these inward things, because I very well know that, if you are willing, you have more skill to help me in these than in the others.

VALDÉS : Say freely, Signora, all that you wish to ask of me, and you may be assured that I will always expend in your service all that I know and am able to do.

GIULIA : In such confidence I have entered into this conversation with you, in the first instance, in order that you may tell me from what cause you believe the confusion, doubt, and perplexity spring, which for so long a time I have felt in my mind, and whether you think they can be remedied, and what means can be used for the purpose. This said, you will tell me concerning the contradictions that have arisen in me after I heard these sermons ; whether it would be possible by any way to quiet my mind, either by assent, or really by resistance ; because this tempest of affections and appetites, of imaginations and diversities of will, cannot be endured much longer ; and I wish you not to lose time with excusing yourself by your usual, not to say feigned humility, which in such a case you are accustomed frequently to use.

VALDÉS : On the contrary, without more reflection, I will at once make a beginning. Yet I wish you first to make me one promise.

GIULIA : What promise ?

VALDÉS : It is this, that, if I make you truly comprehend from what cause your confusion, inquietude, and contradictions proceed, and show you the way by which you can be freed from them, you will give me your assurance and word that you will walk in it.

GIULIA : If in this manner I might be certain that you would do what you say, as I am certain that in such case I would do what you ask of me, I should already begin to quiet myself.

VALDÉS : Now, then, I hope, not so much from any skill or sufficiency of my own as in the affection and willingness I have to serve you, and likewise in your lively understanding and lucid judgment, and above all in the grace of God, that before I leave this place you shall not only learn what you wish, but you shall know and understand the way by which you

¹ She was at this time troubled with the suit by her daughter-in-law Isabella.

can free yourself from your former infirmity and its consequences. Be very attentive, Signora, because upon every single thing which I shall say to you, you can reply to me what may occur to you.

GIULIA : I will do so.

VALDÉS : Then, in order to understand, Signora, whence proceed the travail and confusion, which you say you have felt for so many years, I wish you would turn over in your memory *how man is made in the image and likeness of God.*

GIULIA : Let me understand what this *image and likeness of God* is.

VALDÉS : I wish rather that St. Paul may explain it to you, and thus you will understand it by what he says to the Colossians, where, admonishing them to speak the truth one to another, he counsels them to "put off the old man with his deeds, and to put on the New man, who is renewed in knowledge conformable to the *image and likeness* of Him who created him."¹ And you will also understand it by what St. Paul again says to the Ephesians, reminding them, that by becoming Christians they have learned to put off the old man and to be renewed in the spirit and clothed with the New man, who is created in the *image and likeness* of God.² From this it appears that, in whatever degree a man possesses and retains in himself the *image and likeness* of God, in the same measure he sees and knows, understands and relishes spiritual things in a spiritual life and conversation. This truly known, and what objects you set before your mind well scrutinized, you will understand clearly how all the inquietude, all the travail, all the confusion you feel arise ; because your soul desires you to procure its restitution to the *image* of God to which it was created, and of which it appears you have deprived it. Submitting to your appetites, and persisting in crossing this *image*, you have put before it things earthly and transitory, not by any means worthy of that excellence for which it was created. For this reason it cannot be satisfied or contented with any of these things. It seems to you that it knows not what it wishes for ; and hence you know not how to set before it that which it would desire. This state of mind that happens to you, ever befalls worldly persons who, having attained to a reflective intellect and clear judgment, knowing truly that their souls find not, nor ever can find, entire satisfaction in outward things, turn themselves to seek for it in things relating to the mind. Yet as the *supernatural light*, by which *alone* truth is discovered, seen, and known, is wanting to them, they go wandering in a labyrinth of appearances and opinions. And thus some seek happiness in one thing, some in another. I think it not worth while to refer here to examples, because this is not the point of your proposition. It is enough that you know this, that all these persons deceive themselves, and can never shadow out, nor reach to the symbols of the things in which true happiness consists, who, if they had had a little of the light of faith, would most easily and with the grace of God have acquired it, and thus they would have quieted and pacified their souls. Do you now understand the cause whence your inquietude, confusion, and labour proceed ?

GIULIA : Yes, very well.

VALDÉS : Then you know that they may certainly be remedied, and that the remedy is in your own hands.

GIULIA : In my hands ?

VALDÉS : Yes ! in your hands. Because whenever you determine yourself to do what I tell you, and which St. Paul tells you, respecting the renewing and restoring within you the *image and likeness* of God, you will find peace, quiet, and repose of spirit.

GIULIA : And how must I do this ?

¹ Col. iii. 9, 10.

² Eph. iv. 22-24.

VALDÉS : By withdrawing from your mind perishable and transitory things, and by applying it to those that are stable and eternal ; not wishing nor endeavouring to feed it with corporeal things but spiritual, not nourishing it with worldly things but with celestial. And in this manner your spirit finding its proper aliment, and seeing itself clothed with the New man in the *image* and *likeness* of which it was created, will always live content and cheerful. And here, in this present life, it will begin to taste of that felicity which it expects to enjoy for ever in the life eternal, because the happiness of man consists in his knowledge of God and of Christ shown by the light of faith, and in the union of the soul with God through faith, hope, and love. To this happiness only the true Christian can arrive.

GIULIA : I should well believe what you say, because, indeed, it appears founded in reason ; but as I know many persons who have cancelled the *image* of God as much as, and perhaps more than, I have done, and who do not present to their minds things more spiritual than I present to mine, yet they live in pleasure, finding content and satisfaction in the things of this world : so that I know not what to believe.

VALDÉS : Such persons' minds dwell in a low and vulgar state, and therefore low and mean objects give them satisfaction. But a spirit generous and refined like yours cannot tranquillize itself and take repose, except in that greatness for which it was created. Hence, I repeat, if you are disgusted and live with your mind in confusion, it is because you do not turn it to things spiritual and divine, and because you continually fix this consideration upon these low and transitory concerns. You will better understand it by this comparison :

Two persons set out from this place to go to Spain. One of them is so careless and forgetful of his purpose, that whenever anything amusing or delightful occurs on the way, he not only partakes of it and enjoys it, but quite forgets his main object, and indulges his body and mind by stopping on the road. The other, on the contrary, is so solicitous and scrupulous, that whatever entertainments and feasts may be offered him, he will not taste or enjoy any, because he knows and is sure that he is not to remain there ; nay, they are frequently displeasing and distasteful to him, as being hindrances and interruptions of his journey. And those earthly-minded persons even now have a want of satisfaction in these things whenever their principal journey becomes more impressed on their remembrance ; and although at times they forget themselves and lose sight of their object, there remains impressed upon their memory altogether a something, I know not what, which causes them to find no true enjoyment in anything that the journey presents to them.

Such are we in this life. We are all born and created to know God, to believe God, to love God, and after our present existence to enjoy God. And yet there are some who feed on the pleasures of this world, not only delighting and giving themselves up to rest in them, but who are wholly forgetful of that other life for which they were created. There are also others who, being offered the same delights and pleasures, enjoy them not, nor take relish in them ; nay, they are often insipid and distasteful to them, because they always keep in view that other life for which God created them. And although for a time they forget themselves, losing the remembrance of the other life, yet because God stands ever at the door and calls them, it will be impossible that they should find relish and enjoyment in the things of this world ; and if they expect or endeavour to find them here, they will live in confusion, disgust, and inquietude, as you are living, Signora. In the same manner, then, like him who knows how to taste of the things of this world, yet does not enjoy them as things

suitable to his better nature, or that will be lasting, but who looks at them as the curious beholder views them, turning away from the recreations and banquets offered to him by the way,—I wish you, Signora, to act. *Turn within yourself, open the ears of your soul, so that you may hear the voice of God*, and think as a true Christian, that in this life you can have no other real contentment and rest, than what will come to you by means of the knowledge of God, through the faith and love of God. Settle your mind in this consideration ; most earnestly putting aside all those things that are transitory and cannot endure. Doing this, I promise that you will occupy a much shorter time in quieting, soothing, and giving peace to your mind than you have spent in disturbing it. And if you do not thus overcome it, I am content that you should never give credit to anything I may say to you.

GIULIA : Truly, I believe that you have divined the source whence my infirmity proceeds, without erring in a single point. O God, do Thou assist me ! How blindly do we worldly persons go on ! I am convinced that you have divined how to give me the medicine by which I shall be healed of my weakness. It only remains that I put my trust in God and take it. I have no doubt it will heal me, especially as I have such a physician as you by my side.

VALDÉS : The true physician of the soul is Christ crucified. Put all your confidence in Him alone, and you will discover the remedy.

Valdés then describes to her the nature of the Law and the Gospel, and their different effects on the heart :—

The Law is the rule of conscience, and it is thus that conscience is no other than the Law understood, whose office is to bring sin to light, and also to increase it. St. Paul knew both by experience, and as he truly had experienced it, he writes to the Romans, in that his most excellent epistle, and says himself, that the Law works wrath, because persons are angry, disdainful, and variable when restricted by the Law (Rom. viii.). He says, moreover, that the Law is spiritual, for it is not observed in its integrity, nor rightly understood, unless the person is a spiritual person. The prophets call the Law a heavy yoke, a rigorous sceptre, and other names of this kind, which signify severity. And when God gave the Law to Moses, the people of Israel, who stood at the foot of the mountain, saw great lightnings and heard thunderings, so that they all trembled with fear and dismay. All say that these things signify the terror, alarm, and conflict of the affections which the Law generates in those minds to whom it is given. But with all this, you, Signora, ought to know that the Law is very needful for you : since if you had not the Law, you would not have conscience ; and without conscience sin would not be known ; and if sin were not known, we should not humble ourselves ; and if we did not humble ourselves, we should not obtain grace ; and if we did not obtain grace, we should not be justified ; and not being justified, our souls would not be saved. And this I believe St. Paul means where he says, that the Law is as a schoolmaster or governor who leads and conducts us to Christ, although by means of faith we are justified.¹ Here you perceive the office of the Law.

The Gospel executes the same office in those persons who receive it only as law. But in them who receive it as an ambassador or messenger of grace, its especial office is to heal the wounds made by the Law, to preach grace, peace, and remission of sins ; to calm and pacify the conscience ; to give strength to accomplish what the Law shows us to be the will of God, and by which the enemies of the soul are warred with, and by which

¹ Gal. iii. 24.

they are overcome and beaten down to the ground. And thus Christ comes to them compassionate, humble, pacific, and full of love and charity, and not terrible and alarming like the Law. In this manner the Law teaches us what we have to do, the Gospel gives us the spirit by which we are enabled to fulfil it. The Law inflicts the wound, the Gospel heals it ; and, finally, the Law slays, the Gospel gives life. I do not care to go on confirming this with the authority of the Sacred Scriptures, not to occupy the time. . . .

After this Valdés continues upon self-love and self-denial :—

VALDÉS : The Preacher, Signora, by his sermons, has awakened in your remembrance what you already had conceived of heaven and hell, and has known so well how to picture it to you that the fear of hell makes you love heaven, and the love of heaven makes you dread hell. And in connection with showing you this, he tells you that you cannot fly from hell except through the observance and keeping of the law and the doctrine of Christ. And as he declares this to you in a manner which it seems to you that you cannot perform without hazard of being whispered about, disesteemed, undervalued, and considered as contemptible by people of the world, the forethought of the future life conflicting within you on one side, and on the other an unwillingness to bear the troubles of the present life, in this way the contradiction you feel is generated. All this is born of the *amor proprio* with which you love yourself. You fear hell for your own interest, you love heaven for your own interest, you fear the confusion of the world for your own interest, you love the glory and honour of the world for your own interest. Thus in everything you fear and love, if strictly noticed, you will discover yourself.

GIULIA : Then whom do you wish that I should find in my own things if not myself ?

VALDÉS : I wish that you should again find God, and not yourself, if you wish to be free from contradiction, confusion, inquietude, discontent, and a thousand other discomforts beside, from which you can never become freed ; but when you find God, you will find peace, serenity, quietness, content, cheerfulness, and courage, and such an infinitude of spiritual blessings that you will not know how to gather them. Now, if you wish to slight Him, and if you are willing to deprive yourself of heaven and bind yourself to hell, through unwillingness to go a little out of yourself and enter into God—why, look you to it ! For myself, I assure you that there is nothing in the world that could give me equal satisfaction and content as to see you walk in this Christian path, because I know your mind so well inclined, I hold it certain that if you begin to take delight in God, you will surpass in the victory of holiness many of those saints who are in heaven.

GIULIA : Indeed I desire no other thing ; God knows my wishes.

VALDÉS : Then why do you not take what you desire ?

GIULIA : Because I do not know how to do so.

VALDÉS : Force, force, Signora, is the only means the Gospel concern demands. And so Christ said : “ From the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force.”¹ Thus if you wish to take the kingdom of heaven, do violence to yourself, and so you will fear nothing, because, as a Spanish lady of high rank said, although I think not upon this subject (*Quien a sí venze, á nadie teme*), “ he who conquers himself fears no one.”

GIULIA : Let us leave mere words ; the fact is, I indeed believe that all my confusion, my inquietude, and my contradiction of mind would cease

¹ Matt. xi. 12.

by entering upon the way of God; and for this reason I would resolve to enter upon it immediately, but it seems to me so difficult to find, that I dare not set myself to seek it.

VALDÉS: What do you see that makes it so troublesome to find?

GIULIA: I see few who walk by that road.

VALDÉS: In this you are so far right, that few walk in it. But you should know that this does not arise so much from the difficulty of the way as from our own evil nature and imperfection. And because I desire to confirm you in this truth, I wish you to know that in the present life you will discover five kinds of persons. Some there are who know not the way of God, neither wish to know it, because they foresee that by walking in that way they must deprive themselves of their amusements and pleasures; and these persons, although they do not speak it with the lips, yet from the heart they use the language that Job utters when describing the wickedness of the impious: "Depart from us, for we desire not the knowledge of thy ways."¹ David says the same: "The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God,"² because in reality they wish that there were no God. You will find other persons who know the way of God, but overcome by their affections and appetites, they do not conclusively determine to walk in it. Christ says of such: "The servant who knew his lord's will and did it not, shall be beaten with many stripes."³ And truly it is so also here in this world. Such persons feel a continual remorse of conscience which keeps them discontented and without enjoyment.

You will find another class of persons who desire and have the wish to learn and know the way of God, but being bound by the love of the things of this present life, and taking supreme delight in them, they are not willing to give them up, and thus they do not conduct themselves so that God should teach and show them His way. Satan directly sets before such persons certain deceptive paths, which he gives them to understand are the right paths, and they, blind with self-love, willingly yield themselves to be deceived and injured, supposing that God guides them, whilst it is the devil who is leading them. Hence are invented superfluous ceremonies; hence arise pernicious superstitions; hence come false worships. God says of such persons by Isaiah: "They seek me daily, wishing to learn and know my ways, like people who have lived righteously and have not abandoned the justice and judgment of the Lord their God."⁴

You will find another class of persons who are willing to know the way of God and dispose themselves towards it. These hearing in their souls the voice of Christ which says: "Turn within you, ye who go wandering; that is not the right path in which you are walking, for you cannot go by that to the kingdom of heaven." These turn within themselves, and perceiving that they will be lost, leave the road they are pursuing, and before they take any other course pray unto God that He would show them the true way. And this is their condition. Such persons are soon sensible of Christ, who says to them: "Whoever will walk by the true and certain way, let him deny himself, take up his cross, and follow Me,⁵ imitating Me in what he can;" and they are aware that in another place of Scripture He declares this to them: "Learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly of heart, [and ye shall find rest unto your souls.]"⁶ And thus they immediately enter by the way of denying their own will, and by the way of patience and true humility.

You will find some other persons who know the way of God and walk in it, some with more and greater fervency than others, yet in such a manner that neither the one nor the other go out of the way nor forsake

¹ Job xxi. 14.

² Ps. xiv. 1.

³ Luke xii. 47.

⁴ Isaiah lviii. 2.

⁵ Matt. xvi. 24.

⁶ Matt. xi. 29.

it. They go on well ; and these in truth are but few, as you say, Signora, although they are not so few as you think, because their path being spiritual, they cannot be seen but by spiritual sight, nor are they possibly known except by persons who walk by the same road. These live in continual care not to offend God ; and if at times they fall into any mortal sin through weakness, overcome by temptation, they turn immediately to God, confess their offence, and have no need of many preparations for the confession ; for, as David says, speaking of himself, their sin is ever before their eyes.¹ These very persons have some negligences and defects which are signs that their minds are not entirely mortified. Indeed their defects and negligences are often made to be the cause of their improvement, because they repent and humble themselves, and thus learn to mistrust themselves and to confide to God. For this reason St. Paul says, that "all things work together for good to them that love God ;"² and hence he says in another place, that there is nothing to bring condemnation to them, who, having entered upon this road, stand united to Christ Jesus by faith and love.³

The first class of persons are the wicked ; the second, the blind ; the third, the unsteady ; the fourth, the prudent ; the fifth, the holy. In this manner you can see that if few persons walk by the Christian way, it is more through their impiety, blindness, and fickleness than through its difficulty ; and knowing this, you should have no fear of finding it. And since you, Signora, as I think, are one of the fourth sort of persons, set yourself to *listen to the voice of Christ* ; for He will put you forward in the true way. And consider it certain that directly you shall have entered upon it, you will feel no more confusion, inquietude, travail, or perplexity ; in short, you will not feel any of those conflicts of mind, but, on the contrary, you will experience great peace, cheerfulness, satisfaction, and supreme content.

GIULIA : Everything you tell me gives me satisfaction. And since I absolutely wish to enter upon this way, it remains for you to lead me by the hand, instructing me in those footsteps by which I believe you have yourself walked.

VALDÉS : I know not what more you wish to learn from me of that which the preacher tells you every day.

GIULIA : I am weak and cannot make such resistance to my inclination as the preacher speaks of.

VALDÉS : I already, in good part, understand you, Signora. What need have you to go by the branches ?⁴ I know well what you would wish.

GIULIA : What incivility ! Since you know it, why do you not mention it ?

VALDÉS : Because I waited for you to tell it with your own lips.

GIULIA : Do me this favour, then, since you know it, to mention it ; and if you divine it, I will tell you the truth without reserve.

VALDÉS : I am content with this. You, Signora, wish to be freed from the troublesome things that come and go through your imagination, and being convinced that this is the true way to free you from them, you wish me to show you some royal and ladylike road by which you may be able to get to God without turning away from the world, and by which you can attain to inward humility without showing it outwardly ; by which you may possess the virtue of patience without the occurrence to you of

¹ Ps. li. 3.

² Rom. viii. 28. ³ Rom. viii. 1.

⁴ An Italian and Spanish proverb used by Valdés : *andare per li rami* ? Orig. :

Dejemonos de andar por las ramas.—
Diálogo de la Lengua, p. 203, ed. 1860.
Let us come to the point—let us cease
to beat about the bush.

what would exercise it ; by which you may despise the world, but in a manner that the world may not condemn ; by which you may clothe your soul with Christian virtues without despoiling the body of its accustomed ornaments ; by which you may nourish your soul with spiritual viands without depriving the body of its usual banquets. You wish forsooth to appear good in God's sight without appearing ill in the eyes of the world ; and, in short, by this path you wish to be able to lead your religious life, but in a mode that no worldly person, however great the familiarity and intercourse he might have with you, could discover in your life more than he at present knows. Have I divined your sentiments ?

GIULIA : Very nearly ; or at least, if you have not divined them, you may say that you have gone to the turn of the mark.

VALDÉS : This is sufficient for me to warrant my saying that, according to my perception, you are more ready to free yourself from the conflict than you feel to assent to the verdict.

GIULIA : Yet do you not always tell me that a bad compromise is better than a good verdict ?¹

VALDÉS : Yes, I say so, but not in this case, in which the compromise is very dangerous, and terribly hurtful. Know you not that Christ says, that we cannot serve the world and love God, or we must love God and despise the world ?² . . .

Valdés lays great stress upon the necessity of knowing ourselves truly, and the continual exercise of self-examination.

O Signora ! of what importance it is that a person should know how to be acquainted with himself. I am sure that if we truly knew it, we should apply much more study and diligence to this than to any other object whatever.

GIULIA : In what does this importance consist ?

VALDÉS : In this, that if you do not know yourself, you can never cease to love yourself inordinately. And while you have this self-love you cannot love God. And whilst you do not love Him, you cannot do, say, or think anything that may be to His honour ; and not being to His honour, consider whether it would be to the advantage of your soul.

GIULIA : So might I know others as fully as I know myself.

VALDÉS : And still in this, Signora, consists the deception ; that not knowing yourself, you think you do. I give you to know that he must be a very spiritual person who entirely knows himself.

GIULIA : I believe it may be so. And since this knowledge is of so much importance, instruct me what I must do to know myself.

VALDÉS : The *first* thing you ought to do is to convince yourself that you do not know yourself. The *second* is to know indeed the necessity you have to know yourself. The *third* is, to pray God that He would open the eyes of your understanding, so that you may know yourself. The *fourth*, to occupy yourself a little every day in examining your affections and appetites which incline you to disobey God. This inclination you must consider comes to you through original sin, and, therefore, you should hold it as the more pernicious, because it is natural to you, and so this causes you to love yourself without restraint, and to desire everything for yourself. Hence you will learn to trust not at all in yourself ; so will you live always above yourself. After this, you may run a little over your past life, and you will find many defects, which will lead you to

¹ Proverb : Mas vale mala avenencia in reference to Isabella's suit against que buena sentencía,—used by Valdés Giulia. ² Matt. vi. 24.

know what you are. You will discover, as David discovered, much inward iniquity and much rebellion against God. With him you will learn that every man is false and a liar ; that is to say, that he has an ill opinion of the things of God. You will know with Jeremiah, that the heart of man is perverse, and you will know what God says : that the imaginations of the thoughts of the human heart are evil continually,¹ and you will discover in yourself much ingratitude that you have had against God. Every time you examine, you will know on one side the blessings you have received from His hand, as well as the general ones that all people in the world partake of, also the particular favours you enjoy, especially the benefit of the sufferings of Christ, and of your having been drawn to the knowledge of it, so that you possess and rejoice in it ; and on the other side, when you examine your actions, in all of which you have shown great ingratitude, by evil deeds, by having offended God who gave you the being you have, and who redeemed you by His most precious blood ; and by those acts that appear to you good, because you will understand how you did them, not through your love to God, but through love of yourself ; since you have been living, not in the love of God, but in the love of yourself. Such being the vice of ingratitude, it is so much the more abominable and vile in you, because you have received probably more of the gifts of God in person and in mind than any other individual now living. Think, then, whether you have reason to stand ill with yourself, and to suspect every evil, and thus you will live always carefully watchful over yourself.

It is proper that you enter every day into the knowledge of this deficiency and ingratitude, not to remain there, but to pass forward to another step. This will be self-abhorrence. To this you will readily come, because in proportion as you know yourself, the more will you abhor and suspect yourself of all evil ; and although you will not entirely abhor yourself, you will at least lose the love you bear towards yourself. For this reason, as much more and better a thing is known that is evil in itself, so much more it is to be hated. I do not say that you should show your self-abhorrence by misusing your person, but by despoiling your heart of its *self-love*, which is the greatest hindrance we have to grace, it being the case that we have no enemy so deadly as this ; for it is that which in every possible way and manner labours to separate us from God. Rather, it keeps us in so blind a state and so carried away by it, that we scarcely remember God ; and hence the prophet Micah says : " A man's enemies are those of his own house." ² Therefore, Signora, if you wish to walk lightly along this Christian path, enter frequently into a knowledge of your own misery and weakness, and labour to banish this mortal enemy, *self-love*, from your breast. And know for a certainty that, when this is driven out, the Holy Spirit will quickly, quickly come and dwell in you.

And as you go on stripping your heart of self-love, you will go forward clothing it with the love of God. It is then proper that you advance very soon to another step. This is, that as you take a small portion of the day to enter into a knowledge of yourself, in order to come by this to disenamour yourself of yourself ; so, without dwelling long upon this, you take another portion of time to enter into acquaintance with God, in order thus to delight yourself with Him. This you will readily come to, seeing that the more anything good in itself is known, so much the more it is loved. And that you should the more willingly enter into this knowledge, remember what Christ says : " And this is life eternal, that they might know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent ;" ³ and what

¹ Gen. vi. 5.² Micah vii. 6.³ John xvii. 3.

the wise man says, that the knowledge of God is perfect justification; and that to know justification and the property (*virtù*) of God is the root and foundation of immortality.

GIULIA : You take for granted that as I have not known how to know myself, so I have less known how to understand God. Teach me how I can know Him.

VALDÉS : There are three ways by which persons have arrived and do come to a knowledge of God. One is by the light of nature. This light the Gentile philosophers had, and this those people have at the present day, to whom Christ is not known. St. Paul spoke of this knowledge when he said that by the visible things of creation people come to a knowledge of the invisible things of God.¹ And it is thus : that reflecting on this mundane frame of things in which they behold so much that is excellent, they go on investigating and imagining what they do not see, and by the one and the other they arrive at the knowledge that God who made these things is omnipotent. And going on farther, to the consideration of the admirable providence with which He governs and regulates all things, in such a manner that one does not interfere with another—rather one assists and serves the others,—they arrive at the knowledge that God is supremely wise, and is, indeed, wisdom itself. Again, besides this, passing on to the consideration of the equality with which, without distinction, all these blessings, earthly and celestial, are distributed to the people of the world, they know that God is supreme goodness. In this way people of the world, having only the light of nature, reading in the volume of created things, have known and do now know in God omnipotence, wisdom, and goodness.

Another way to the knowledge of God is by sacred Scripture; I mean by the Old Testament, which gave a knowledge of God, but imperfectly, exhibiting Him as angry, cruel, and vindictive; and therefore it calls Him a God of vengeance, and Lord of hosts, and such similar severe names. In this manner the blind Hebrews knew God; yet altogether it is a less obscure knowledge than that the Gentiles possessed, although they would yet serve as slaves, indeed they even now serve as such. The third way of knowing God is by Christ. This way is the certain, clear, and safe way; this is the straight, royal and noble way. And be assured, Signora, that in knowing God through Christ consists the whole being of a Christian; for to know God through Christ it is necessary first to know Christ Himself. And because we cannot know Christ by the light of nature, nor by other human industry, if God does not internally illumine and open the vision of our souls, I say that this knowledge of God through Christ is supernatural knowledge, for which the special grace of God is necessary. And that it is the truth, that we cannot have the true knowledge of God except through Christ, Christ Himself demonstrates, saying: "No man can come to Me, except the Eternal Father draw him."² And He shows it again by His answer to Peter, when Peter acknowledged Him to be the true Son of God, saying to him: "Blessed art thou, Simon, son of John, for this thou hast not gained by human reason, nor by the light of nature, but my Father who is in heaven has revealed it unto thee."³ When we know God through Christ, we know Him as loving, benign, merciful, compassionate, because we find in Christ love, benignity, mercy, and compassion. See here, Signora, three ways of knowing God, according to three different kinds of people who have had, and still have, a knowledge of God. And because the two first are not to your purpose, you will let them pass, and only exercise yourself in the third, which is, to know God through Christ. But in order that this exercise may be

¹ Rom. i. 20.

² John vi. 44.

³ Matt. xvi. 17.

profitable, it is proper that you should learn to know Christ, not by knowledge gained by custom, nor acquired by the intellect and human industry, but by the light of faith *inspired by the Holy Spirit*. It is needful for you in this manner to learn rightly to know Christ if you wish to come perfectly to know God through Christ.

GIULIA : I know not that I have anything to reply to you ; so plainly it seems to me that I know Christ well, if there be not some other secret cognizance to which I have not arrived.

VALDÉS : Now this secret cognizance is what I said persons must come to by *inspiration* ; and therefore we should not think the public acknowledgment of Christ sufficient : an assassin or a traitor has such. St. John undeceives us, saying : " He that saith, I know Him, and keepeth not His commandments, is a liar."¹

GIULIA : You seem to me to straiten me greatly, and I feel it so much the more as I have nothing to answer you. Now then, for your life, let us not lose time, but open a little to me the way by which I may enter into the true knowledge of Christ.

VALDÉS : I will give you, Signora, some principles, by means of which, commending yourself to God, He will Himself reveal the rest to you. And so I say, since you already believe that Christ is truly God and truly man, as God, equal with His Eternal Father, and one and the same with Him, the true knowledge of Christ consists, Signora, in knowing and considering to what purpose the Son of God came into the world, and was made man ; why He suffered, and why He rose again.

GIULIA : I wish to learn from you how you consider these three things.

VALDÉS : You may consider, Signora, that Christ came into the world to make satisfaction for original sin. Because this having been an infinite crime in respect to God, who was offended, it was necessary that the satisfaction should be infinite, and this could not be made except by God Himself, who is infinite ; therefore the Son of God, being made man, has made satisfaction for the sin of the first man, and together with his, for all the sins of all persons who had been, were then, are now, and shall yet be ; and to them who forego the benefit of this propitiation it will be wanting by their own fault. Christ came to qualify men to become the sons of God. He came to show us the way to heaven. He came to confound the pride of the flesh, and to preach humility of spirit. He came to destroy death. He came to break the power of the devil. He came to communicate with us of His own spirit, by which we might do the will of God ; for by the law alone had God before declared His will to us ; but the law did not give us the power by which we could fulfil it. He came to show us the love that His Eternal Father bears to the human race, which is most perfectly seen and known in Christ. And in short, He came to open to us the gates of Paradise, and to qualify us so that we might enter therein.

Now considering these causes for which Christ came, think you whether you could acquire by any other means than by the Son of God made man, so many and such singular blessings ? Besides this, when you wish to consider wherefore He suffered, Christ Himself shall teach you, saying, *Cum exaltatus fuero a terra omnia traham ad meipsum* ; that is, " And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all things unto Me ;" as though He said : In order to uproot people from the things of this world, and enamour them with the things of life eternal, it is needful that I be crucified ; and saying in another place that it was necessary He should suffer on the cross, that all who believed in Him might be saved.³ And know for a

¹ John xi. 4.

² John xii. 32.

³ Luke xxiv. 46.

certainly that nowhere can we better know God than in Christ crucified. I can say yet more, that if the contemplation of Christ crucified does not disenamour you of the things of the world and enamour you of the things of God, you will be always miserably bound to created things. So much so, that one of the reasons why I think St. Paul calls Christ the mediator between God and man¹ is, because we can neither know, believe, nor love God, but by contemplating Christ crucified; who, suffering, made it sweet to suffer; and enduring, made it easy to endure; and being injuriously treated, made injuries sweet; and dying, gave to death itself a relish. Do not these reasons appear to you most sufficient why Christ should have suffered? Does it not seem to you that Christ has shown so much love in this as to satisfy us why we should disenamour ourselves of self-love, and enamour ourselves with God? But considering still further, you will find that Christ arose from the dead that we might arise with Him, as well in spirit in this life, as in body in the life eternal. And the spiritual resurrection is when through dying to the Old man we come to be revived in the New man. This is the passing from death unto life; and thus, as Christ through dying came to the resurrection, so we by denial of self come to the *newness* of life. And this is what Christ says to Nicodemus: "Except a man be born of water and of the Holy Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God."² You will consider also in Christ, that He ascended up on high to raise our souls to the contemplation of heavenly things. To these St. Paul invites us, saying: "If, brethren, ye are risen spiritually with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of His Eternal Father. Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth."³ And lastly, consider that Christ sent the Holy Spirit that we might be taught the truth of these things, that thereby all love of earthly things being banished, we might be inflamed with the love of spiritual things, and recover and restore within us that *image* of God to the *likeness* of which we were created.

By these considerations, Signora, God aiding you, and favouring you with His grace, you may be enabled to come, little by little, to the perfect knowledge of God. And thus you will go on by it, loving God and loving Christ. In the same manner you will go forward verifying in yourself those truths that you confess in the Creed, so that what you now confess through obedience, merely subjecting your intellect, you will then confess through experience. In this manner, that as joined with the first cognizance of God by the light of nature, which the Gentiles had, united with the knowledge gained of Him through the Scriptures of the Old Testament which the Jews have, a person can with truth say that he believes in one God, the Father, omnipotent Creator of heaven and earth; so also and much better than they, after you have known Christ, and through Christ known God, and through God returning to know Christ [more fully], you will be able to say, or, to speak more correctly, you will say with truth, feeling in your soul that which you say, the same the others have said and confessed; and passing beyond them, you will declare with truth that you believe in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, our only Lord. You will believe Him to be so because the love and obedience with which you know that Christ showed Himself most obedient to the will of God and all the other divine perfections that you know to be in Christ, will certify you that Christ is the Son of God; and the sweetness and charity that you will behold in Christ will constrain you to hold Him alone as your absolute Lord.

And passing further in the truth, you will believe that He was conceived

¹ 1 Tim. ii. 5.

² John iii. 5.

³ 1 Col. iii. 1-2.

by the operation of the Holy Spirit ; because the admirable perfection you will know to be in Christ will assure you that His generation, or conception, was not an ordinary occurrence, but truly the work of the Holy Spirit.

After this, when you shall feel within your soul that, contrary to all natural reason, suffering is sweet to you, affliction grateful, and the cross glorious, knowing truly that glory would not be found in trouble, nor honour in calumny, if Christ had not dignified both, then with living faith will you confess that Christ suffered under the presidency of Pontius Pilate. And when you shall have crucified and buried with Christ your Old man with all his affections and appetites, you will not have any doubt in believing and confessing that Christ was crucified, dead, and buried.

And when, passing further on, you feel the quickening of the New man, and by this you will see that you are raised with Christ, you will be constrained to confess that Christ Himself the third day rose from the dead. And when you shall *see and feel* that all your desires are directed by the Spirit, and advancing on towards heaven, you will know that Christ already is in heaven, seated on the right hand of the Father, and thus you will confess it. Your soul at once inflamed with desire that the world may behold Christ glorified, since it already saw Him suffering, taking it for certain it must be so, you will confess that Christ must come to judge the living and the dead.¹ And because the *Holy Spirit who dwells in you* will open your eyes, you will recognize the same spirit in many other persons, agreeable to what David says : *Qui timent te videbunt me, et letabuntur* : that is, "they that fear thee will see me and be glad ;"² with the whole heart and a ready tongue you will confess the Holy Spirit. With the same knowledge you will believe the holy catholic Church and the spiritual communion of holy persons who are in it. Thus, you will truly know that Christ has here on earth a church universal, holy by participation with the holiness of Christ.

Finally, when you shall feel and enjoy so much of the sweetness and love of Christ here in this world as is to be felt and enjoyed, taking this sense and enjoyment for an earnest of what you will yet have to feel and enjoy in the other life, to which you will expect certainly to go to rejoice perpetually with Christ, you will not hesitate to confess the Life Eternal.

And now, when you possess such inward experience, yours will be living and true faith, because you will have *the experience of it within you*. Now, mark well, Signora, and consider the fruit you will gather from the knowledge of God through Christ. And considering that you will be a Christian in proportion as you have this knowledge of God by Christ lively in your soul, I am sure you will willingly forget so much of yourself, entering into this divine cognizance ; in which you ought to enter many times a day if you wish to walk by this Christian path.

I know not what more to say to you on this subject, except that I wish what has been already said may be used by you more as a way-mark, to point to the entrance of the knowledge of God and of Christ, than as an introduction into it, because the introduction must be made by the special gift and grace of God, which you ought always most affectionately to ask for, and when you so ask it of Him, I promise you that He will not deny you.

GIULIA : Great is the power of the word of God ! I say so because I assure you, of all the arguments I have heard you use, there is none that so renewedly increases the desire I have to walk by this Christian path.

VALDÉS : All these new resolutions you ought, Signora, to embrace, and

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 52.

² Ps. cxix. 74.

acknowledge to come from the hand of God. And know that my words cannot be sufficient for this, *if the Holy Spirit do not speak within you* there (pointing to the heart), soliciting you. Now, because in nothing except in Christ can people entirely know and comprehend the love God bears to us, His mercy, His compassion, and His benignity; for this reason I say, Signora, that the most certain way and the most royal road to come to a knowledge of God is to know Him through Christ. And so Christ Himself says: "I am the way, the truth, and the life,"¹ and so the Eternal Father draws us to know Christ, and Christ leads us to know the Eternal Father, and we cannot come to God but by Christ; and life eternal consists in knowing God, and in knowing Christ. Hence Christ Himself, speaking to His Eternal Father, says: "This is life eternal, that they should know Thee, the true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent into the world."²

"If," says Valdés, "the will excites you to do, say, or think anything, in every instance test it. If the object suggested present itself in the guise of something bad, it must immediately be banished, whilst anything good must just as quickly be put in action. And if you find what is offered to your mind to be indifferent, think a little over it, and finding that more evil than good may come of it, let it alone; or, finding that more good than evil may come, adopt it; but be very careful that you do not deceive yourself, for the devil frequently transforms himself into an angel of light, and often the flesh moves us, and we think it to be the Spirit. And if a thing be of such nature that it can be neither ill nor good, and nothing more than a satisfaction to your will, to leave or take it is of little consequence; yet it is quite true, it may be better to leave it, because in proportion as you deny your own will, you mortify it."

Valdés does not think of transporting Giulia at once to perfection, but wishes her to arrive there by easy stages, neither wearied by haste, nor kept back by negligence. Giulia breathes once more; she confesses her partiality to certain idle pastimes, to lay which aside would, she fears, induce melancholy. Valdés repeats that she ought to lay these trifling things aside gradually, and that she would, the more she learnt to know divine things, also lose her taste for the former. "I see," says Giulia, gratefully, "you accommodate yourself to my weakness in order to save me from being discouraged." Valdés asks, "Does it appear to you that I do wrong?" "On the contrary, it appears to me that the mode in which you proceed is the best." "It appears good to you for this reason," says the Teacher, "because you are self-indulgent; but we won't discuss this. I will give you still greater license, Signora, in order that the difficulties which you will encounter on this road may not lead you to turn back. It is this, that if you are not able wholly to subdue your feelings and inclinations, so that you may be absolute mistress of yourself, at least so rule and moderate them that they be not your masters. The good Christian is not to seek to be passionless, but to rule

¹ John xiv. 6.

² John xvii. 3.

his passions." The idea and image of Christian perfection, contrasted with her own imperfection, is the book which he would wish her to peruse constantly, and which would advance her more in one day than all other books in a hundred years.

Valdés thus defines prayer and the manner in which it should be exercised:—

Prayer is the raising of the mind to God, with desire to obtain what it asks of Him. The manner of prayer, and what should be asked for in prayer, are such as Christ taught us by St. Matthew: "And when thou prayest, thou shalt not do as the hypocrites, for they love to pray in the congregations of the people and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men; verily I say unto you, they have their reward. But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father who is in secret; and thy Father who seeth in secret shall reward thee openly." Christ teaches us by these words that our prayer should be private, as well to avoid vain glory, as because the mind outwardly quiet, more easily quiets itself within. And Christ immediately says: and "when thou prayest, use not many words, as the gentiles do."¹ Whence He shows that He wishes few words to be used, but much faith and affection, in prayer. Afterwards He says: "In this manner, therefore, pray ye: *Pater noster qui es in caelis,*" &c.² "Our Father who art in heaven," &c. In this He instructs us that we should not ask for vain or superfluous things in prayer, but for those only which seem to be necessary for the glory of God, for the salvation of the souls of our neighbours and of our own, and for the support of our life. Christ, in another place, teaches us how we ought to pray, saying: "And all things whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive."³ So that in order for prayer to be right, it should be in private, with few words, with much desire, with true and just request, and with entire faith and confidence that God will give us what we shall ask of Him. Also Christ teaches us in another place that we should be importunate and persevering in prayer. Yet because vocal prayer frequently kindles and elevates the mind to mental prayer, I would not wish you, Signora, to oblige yourself to repeat a certain number of psalms or paternosters, in order that you may always stand at liberty; for then, God sending to you some good inspiration in prayer, you may be able to dwell in it as long as you feel that your soul has the relish of it.

GIULIA: I cannot understand this unless you explain it by some example.

VALDÉS: I mean to say that, when saying the Paternoster, you come to repeat *adveniat regnum tuum*, "thy kingdom come;" and at that passage God shall show you the felicity the soul enjoys when God reigns within it, that you dwell in this consideration. In the same manner, when saying *cor mundum crea in me, Deus, et spiritum rectum innova in visceribus meis*, that is, "create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me,"⁴ you should feel that your heart begins to be warmed with desire for that purity, and your bosom begins to open, anxious that the Holy Spirit may be renewed in it; without going on with the psalm, feed the fire of your heart with a thought of Christ crucified, and open wider the door of your breast, that your heart may remain

¹ Matt. vi. 7.

² Matt. vi. 9.

³ Matt. xxi. 22.

⁴ Ps. li. 10.

purified, and your bosom go filled with the Holy Spirit. You will do this, without being obliged to repeat a certain number of psalms or of paternosters. Do you now understand it ?

GIULIA : Fully. . . .

Giulia asks Valdés how she should dispense her alms.

VALDÉS : I shall give you no other rule than that of charity. Love God, and you will know how to dispense your alms.

GIULIA : I ask it because the Preacher¹ said one day, that according to the order of charity, we were more under obligation to our neighbour than to ourselves.

VALDÉS : What the Preacher said is that well-ordered charity begins from God, and that in Him persons learn it : both how they should love themselves, and how they should love their neighbour. And he said more—that he who lives in perfect charity frequently waives his own individual interest for the good of his neighbour. This we see in many passages of St. Paul, who says that charity seeketh not its own interest. As to distributing alms, St. Paul himself, without any difference, says, *Facite bonum ad omnes*, "Do good to all men;" and wishing, in some respects, to come to particulars, he says, "but chiefly to the household of faith." Keeping to what Christ says : "He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive a prophet's reward; and he who receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous man, shall receive a righteous man's reward."² Does it appear to you that these are gifts to be forsaken ?

GIULIA : Rather, I have so much enjoyed to hear this, that I would die with pleasure to know some righteous person, to show him a thousand favours, and do him a thousand benefits, to be myself also righteous.

VALDÉS : A pretty contradiction is this ! Do you not perceive that in this case you are moved by your own interest, and not as Christ desires, purely by His love ? In short, I see, Signora, that you would be satisfied to do whatever God would command and wish of you, provided you take care of your love for yourself; and I do not wonder, because there is nothing in the world more disagreeable for persons than to do force to themselves; so much more in things belonging to the soul, where outward force and human labour are insufficient. But, in short, willing or not willing, I assure you that you must give your love up to God.

GIULIA : What humiliation !

VALDÉS : Do you take it to be humiliating, Signora, that God having created you, in order that you should love Him, and having in so many modes and ways shown His love, He asks you to love Him ?

GIULIA : Let me put up with your answer. Yet if I were able to do it so readily, I promise you that I would not be slow to do it; but it is necessary to come to this effect through so many intricacies; and to tell you the truth, I do not know how you mean this. Since God commands me to give Him all my love, why does He not make me certainly able always to do what I would wish for Him as easily as I could give Him this robe ?

VALDÉS : The impossibility, or, better to say, the difficulty comes to us from original sin.

Giulia asks Valdés, although the hour has become very late, what is the nature of Christian liberty.

¹ Ochino : *Qual sia l'ordine della carità*. Prediche, terza parte, predica lxiv. ed. 1543.

² Matt. x. 41.

GIULIA : I remain indeed satisfied ; and if you tell me in two words about Christian liberty, I will then leave you to *go with God!*

VALDÉS : You know, Signora, that Christian liberty is a thing which, however much it is reasoned about, and however good the conduct be, can never be understood if it be not experienced ; so that you will know just so much of it as you experience it in your soul, and no more. If, therefore, Signora, you desire to learn it, set yourself to experience it, and there will be no necessity that I should tell you about it. But at all events, I wish to say this : that it appears, according to what St. Paul says,—“ though I be free from all, yet have I made myself servant unto all, that I might gain them all for Christ,”¹ the liberty of the Christian is in the conscience ; for the real and perfect Christian is free from the tyranny of the law, from sin, and from death, and is absolute master of his affections and appetites. And on the other hand, he is the servant of all as to the outward man, because he is subject to serve the necessities of the body, to keep the flesh subject, and to serve his neighbours according to his power, either with his faculties, if gifted with them, or with good doctrine if that be added, and with the example of a good and holy life. So that such a Christian person is free as regards the spirit, acknowledging no other superior than God, and as to the body, he is subject to everybody in the world for Christ's sake.

Valdés, according to his usual method of instruction, sums up the whole discourse by the following words :—

You have already understood, Signora, whence has arisen the confusion of mind in which you have lived until now, and likewise the remedy that you can use for it. You have understood whence the contradiction arises that you felt within you after you heard the Preacher, and in what manner you can free yourself from it. I have depicted to you the idea of Christian perfection. I have shown you the steps by which you will begin to walk to Christ without being seen by the world. I have satisfied you of some doubts that have occurred to you. Lastly, you have understood in what Christian liberty consists. It now remains for you directly, directly from this night, to make proof of going in those steps that I have taught you. Therefore I desire that you would tell me in the morning what you think of them. And be careful that you always entreat God that He would guide and conduct you by His grace, without ever consenting to withdraw yourself from Him. Because this is the way to arrive at Christian perfection, and to enjoy Christian liberty, to which when you shall become united, you will be able with truth to say with the prophet David : *Dominus regit me, et nihil mihi deerit. In loco pasquæ ibi me collocavit ;* that is, “ The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want. He maketh me to lie down in green pastures, He leadeth me beside the still waters,” &c.²

Few were the years of the life of Valdés after the conversion of the ALFABETO CHRISTIANO, yet during the four, or at the most five of them, he presented to Giulia his translation from the Greek of the Gospel according to Matthew, of the Psalms translated from the Hebrew, of the Epistle to the Romans, also from the Greek, with a commentary ; nor could she be unacquainted with his “ Considerations ” and his other writings, while they were in

¹ 1 Cor. ix. 19.

² Ps. xxiii.

manuscript. All those that we know of with certainty were also printed and circulated to some extent in Italy during her lifetime; and, as before said, it is to her agent or *procuratore*, Marco Antonio Magno, that we owe at least the translation from the Spanish manuscript of the "Alfabeto Christiano" into Italian, and consequently its existence at the present time.¹

And what was the effect upon her mind of the religious instruction of Valdés? This at least we know, that besides the superintendence of her nephew's education, she passed her time in visiting the sick in the hospitals, relieving them with her own hands; in select society, avoiding the acquaintance of mere worldly persons; and in the constant perusal of the Holy Scriptures,² that volume of heavenly refreshment, "the aliment of the perfect," which Valdés had requested her to substitute for his own writings. She left behind her a character eminent for the graces of her mind, for unspotted purity of life, in a city and in an age of unrestrained license of morals, and for exalted piety carried out to the consistent practice of virtue—a character, we may readily believe, such as Valdés had marked out for her attainment. Its memory, therefore, for these qualities, more than for the acknowledged beauty of her person and the distinction of rank and family, though receiving a lustre from them also, has come down to us in this later age, joined with *his* who is now known, with greater certainty than was apprehended before, to have been "at once her guide, and counsellor, and friend."

¹ "Alfabeto Christiano che insegna la vera via d'acquistare il lume dello Spirito Santo, l'Anno MD.XLVI." Translated by Benjamin B. Wiffen, 1861. Only 100 copies printed for publication.

² Ariosto, canto XLVI. "Giulia Gonzaga che douunque il piede volge, etc.

. *Hora spende tutto il tempo in pensier santi, riuolgendole Scritture sacre con puro e sincero petto.*" M. Simon Fornari, in "La Spositione sopra l'Orlando Furioso." In Firenze, 1549-50, p. 764.

CHAPTER VI.

EVERY English traveller who has visited Italy may be expected to have seen Naples. No other spot in the world combines within the same compass so much natural beauty with so many objects of interest as the Bay of Naples. Its circuit from the Capo di Miseno to the Punta della Campanella is about 35 miles. At its opening between the islands of Ischia and Capri it is 14 miles broad; and from its opening to its head at Portici it is 15 miles long. All this is seen at one view, surrounded by towns of classic memory, gardens, palaces, and ruins, with the islands of Procida, Ischia, and Capri bestudding the waters of this charming bay, in the most agreeable climate, and under the brightest of skies. The name by which it was anciently known was derived from the *Siren Parthenope*, expressive of its enchanting influence; and—

Still, as of yore, the setting sun declines
O'er marble terraces and trellis'd vines;
Around her beauteous bay the mountains bend,
And glorious lights and balmy dews descend.

At a part of the city now covered with a magnificent succession of palaces and villas, and including a fashionable drive of a mile and a half in extent, bounded towards the bay by shaded promenades amongst delicious gardens, laved by the murmuring waters, and, in the days of which we are writing, studded with a few villas set in verdure,—lies the quarter of Chiaja. Here Juan de Valdés had a country house,¹ and here his friends resorted to hear him discourse upon sacred subjects. Some slight and interesting allusions in the *Diálogo de la Lengua* give us an insight into the manner of his readings and conversations with these friends. He held frequent intercourse with them at his own residence in the city; whilst his less-divided leisure was given to them at his country house. Here Valdés received on the Sunday a select number of his most intimate friends, and they passed the day together in this manner: After breakfasting and enjoying themselves amidst the glories of the surrounding scenery, they returned to the house, when he read some selected portion of Scripture and commented upon it, or

¹ See Bonfadio's letter to Carnesecci, at pp. 177-8.

some "DIVINE CONSIDERATION" which had occupied his thoughts during the week—some subject on which he conceived that his mind had obtained a clearer illumination of heavenly truth. The themes proposed by him might well have been the HUNDRED AND TEN CONSIDERATIONS, occupying 110 Sundays, or full two years, if followed up consecutively. After this they discussed the subject together, or discoursed upon Scripture, and upon points which Valdés himself brought forward, until the hour for dinner. After dinner, in the afternoon, when the servants were dismissed to their own amusements, his friends, and not himself, proposed the subjects and led the conversation, and he had to discuss them agreeably to their desire. As they had been pleased to consecrate the morning according to his wishes, in the serious reading of the sacred Scriptures, the *Book of the Soul*, or upon subjects like his "Divine Considerations," he in return devoted his acquirements to their gratification, on themes of their selection.¹ Such was the origin of the "Diálogo de la Lengua," a dialogue on the Spanish language, which occupied seven or more sittings, and was, in all probability, much more copious than the text which has come down to us, and which furnishes us with these particulars. At nightfall, Valdés and his friends returned to the city.²

The Sunday meetings may have continued four or five years. These Sabbaths of studious Christians, this exchange of subjects, this intercourse of thought between the proposers, the day, the pure elevation of mind they brought as it were with them, the situation, the beauty of the country, the transparent skies of a southern climate, the low murmurs of the bay—would all be favourable to the purpose of Valdés; and from these social meetings with his friends his purely religious works appear to have derived their origin and form. In this manner were produced the materials, rather spoken than written, of those excellent productions, brought afterwards into more exact shape, for the service, first of his own friends, then of theirs, and particularly of Giulia Gonzaga.

Valdés read the Old Testament in the Hebrew, from which he translated the Psalms. He translated also St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans and the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians from the Greek.³ He commented in a simple manner

¹ "Diálogo de la Lengua," ed. 1860, pp. 1, 2.

² "Diálogo de la Lengua," ed. 1860, p. 205.

³ "La Epistola de San Pablo a los

Romanos, i la I. a los Corintios, ambas traduzidas i comentadas por Juan de Valdés. Ahora fielmente reimpresas. Año de 1856."

upon the text, which he read in regular order in his own house to his friends.¹

Valdés begins these Commentaries by a general argument on the character of the Epistles, and the purpose the Apostle had in writing them; and it will be interesting to learn the nature of his religious sentiments on especial subjects, from his comments on various texts, by the manner in which he treats them.

THE SCRIPTURES TO BE UNDERSTOOD BY THE SPIRIT WITH WHICH THEY WERE WRITTEN.

Rom. xvi. 25, 26, 27.

Ei autem, qui potens est, etc.

“Now to Him that is of power to stablish you according to my Gospel and the preaching of Jesus Christ, according to the revelation of the mystery, which was kept secret since the world began, but now is made manifest, and by the Scriptures of the Prophets, according to the commandment of the everlasting God, made known to all nations for the obedience of faith: to God only wise be glory through Jesus Christ for ever. Amen.”

The order of these words in the original Greek is confused, through their being intermixed one with another; and they all are of great import, because almost the whole scope of the epistle is summed up in them. By “*now to Him that is of power to stablish,*” it is to be understood that God is able to confirm and establish in you His election and His calling, as if He should say, you are unable of yourselves, but God shall give you ability. By “*according to my Gospel,*” I understand that St. Paul means that God is able to establish you in that which is preached, and it is affirmed in the Gospel which I preach. And *the preaching of Jesus Christ* and *my Gospel* are synonymous. This same preaching of the Gospel is what is called *the manifestation of the mystery*. He means to say, God is able to establish you according to that which now is published, or made manifest. So that what he, in the first instance, calls *my Gospel*, may be likewise called *the preaching of Jesus Christ*, and called the “*manifestation of the mystery,*” or secret. By “*since the world began,*” is to be understood all time anterior to the preaching of the Gospel. By “*was kept secret,*” is to be understood that there was, indeed, a Gospel, but that it had not been published to men, although, indeed, it had been revealed to some. As though a prince should issue an indulgence or general pardon to all the delinquents in his realm, but that he refrained from publishing it for a while, especially revealing it, however, to some individuals accepted by him. By that expression, “*and by the Scriptures of the Prophets,*” it

¹“Diálogo de la Lengua.” Madrid, 1860, p. xxiii. “Il Valdés leggeva in sua casa l’istesse Epistole che leggeva P. Martire. Il Flaminio in quel di Sessa e di Caserta faceva Sermoni di Vita Spirituale.”—“Valdés read in his own house the same

Epistles as Peter Martyr. . . . In that of Sessa and of Caserta, Flaminio delivered Sermons on the Spiritual Life.”—Antonio Caracciolo, “Vita e Gesti di Paulo IV.” British Museum, Harleian MSS. No. 1763, fol. 113 vto.

appears that he understands that this Gospel, this Indulgence or general pardon, was not only published in the time of Paul, but also in the Scriptures of the Prophets, although it was not understood, because the Scriptures had not been apprehended. For it ever is so, *that the Scriptures never are understood, save by the same spirit with which they are written.* By "*according to the commandment,*" it seems to be understood that it was a Divine command that the Prophets should publish the Gospel, but in such manner that they should not be understood; and that the Apostles should publish it clearly and distinctly. By "*for the obedience of faith,*" is to be understood that God gave this command with the intent that men, in obeying the Gospel, should exalt justification; and obedience consists in man's subjugating his judgment, his reason, and his carnal prudence, and believing what is said, published, and affirmed on the part of God. By "*made known to all nations,*" is to be understood that the preaching of the Gospel, of the Indulgence or general pardon, which Christ first, and the Apostles afterwards, announced to the world on the part of God, was already notorious, and manifested unto all nations. And by "*to God the only wise,*" the reader is referred to that which is hereinbefore mentioned; so that he may finally say, "*to God only wise, who is of power to stablish you according to my Gospel, be glory through Jesus Christ for ever and ever. Amen.*"

This is all the knowledge that I can attain at present of this Divine epistle, having availed myself of my two books, Prayer and Consideration. These books have helped me, as far as Prayer has been aided by the Holy Spirit, and as far as Consideration has been helped by personal experience and daily reading. And I hold it for certain that, in proportion as the spirit has been more fervent and the hope greater, the apprehension of St. Paul's words will have been more perfect, Prayer and Consideration having been more aided. And I hold it likewise for certain that the time will come in which I shall understand all this much better, and then I shall, to the glory of God, supply that wherein I have hitherto failed.—(Romans, pp. 302-305.)

THE SCRIPTURES NOT TO BE READ WITH CURIOSITY.

I Cor. i. 17.

Non in sapientia verbi, &c.

"Not with wisdom of words, lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect."

Here St. Paul begins to treat of another infirmity which it appears that these Corinthians had; this was their esteem of the wisdom of the world. He goes on to speak against this infirmity in these first chapters, with the intent to eradicate and extirpate it from Christians, as being dangerous and pernicious, since it is always accompanied with curiosity and self-esteem, which in a Christian are two vices, so much the more hurtful because, at times, or rather, almost always, they assume the garb of zeal and piety. And this desire of knowledge, by the associations which it brings, is to such a degree pernicious and dangerous that, even in the reading of the holy Scriptures, it injures the mind when the reader is not very guarded, lest he should be guided by curiosity or self-esteem. And I understand that a man reads the holy Scriptures with curiosity when he does so solely with the view of acquiring knowledge. And I understand that a man reads the holy Scriptures with self-esteem when he avails himself of his knowledge to talk about them and criticise them. And should some one ask me, "With what purpose may I then come to

read the holy Scriptures?" I shall answer him, "For the purpose of personal edification, reading them at times for your consolation under tribulation and affliction, and at other times to awaken in your mind fresh desires after God, and to conceive fresh views of spiritual and divine things; and, again, in order that the same reading may be to you as a testimony of what God shall give you inwardly to feel and know of your own soul." And one of the greatest advantages in reading the holy Scriptures is, that the man doing so ascertains the extent to which his feelings and experience concur with those of persons who possess the Holy Spirit. Hence he is confirmed in what he feels and in what he knows, and increases in the one and in the other, deriving the greatest satisfaction from both. It is tantamount to saying, I feel that Christ, slaying His body on the cross, slew that of all who are His members, for I feel mine to be dead, or almost dead, as is said in Rom. vii. In reading that St. Paul said thus, I am confirmed in my own feelings; they increase in me, and I enjoy them. In the same manner I know by experience that worldly wisdom, understanding thereby man's knowledge, the man being destitute of the Holy Spirit, is prejudicial to the Christian. And, reading those chapters wherein St. Paul recognized the same thing, I am confirmed in my own knowledge; it is increased in me, and I enjoy it. I make this observation in order that it may be understood that a desire merely to know is injurious, and that even in holy things it is prejudicial. And, returning to St. Paul, I understand that, by the expression "*not with wisdom of words*," he means to say, God sent me to preach the Gospel; and this with no ornate discourse blended with science and human wisdom; and this, lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect, which would be made of none effect were I to preach the Gospel after such fashion, for men would attribute the effect of my preaching or evangelization, not to the efficacy which there is in the cross of Christ, but to the efficacy of my words. And I understand that the efficacy of the cross of Christ consists in men being brought to accept the righteousness of Christ for their own. They are effectively crucified with Christ, and are dead with Christ. They inwardly experience justification in peace of conscience. They experience death, both in body and mind, by the mortification of their affections and appetites, which are after the flesh and after the world. In proportion as their faith is progressively developed, so likewise is their incorporation into Christ effectively increased; and, as their incorporation into Christ increases, so likewise does their peace of conscience increase with the progressive mortification of their affections and appetites. The expression "*not with wisdom of words*" is synonymous with "*not with a learned discourse*." The Greek word *κενωθη* signifies "lest it be made void," and amounts to the same thing. By the expression "*the cross of Christ*" is to be understood the preaching of the cross of Christ, and under this word "*cross*" St. Paul understands all that savoured of humiliation and ignominy, of affliction, misery, and prostration in association with Christ (pp. 13-15).

ON PREACHERS.

Rom. x. 14, 15.

Quomodo ergo invocabunt, etc.

"How then shall they call on Him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a

preacher? And how shall they preach except they be sent?"

I understand by these words that St. Paul tries to remove the error into which human wisdom might fall, deceived by what he had said, "that all who call on the name of Christ shall be saved," persuading itself that this invocation is an easy thing to any one who may desire it, and that, therefore, the salvation of man depends upon himself, and not on God. And, because this is directly contrary to what St. Paul has said in the preceding chapter, that it does not depend upon the will of man, but on the will of God, he goes on to say that man cannot call on Christ if he do not believe in Him, and that he cannot believe in Him if he have not heard speak of Him. And that he cannot hear speak of Christ if there be no one who preaches Christ to him; and that no man of the world can preach Christ if he be not sent of God to preach Christ; this is the same as if he said, if he be no Apostle. Paul infers from all this, that since it is true that preaching is not efficacious if he who preaches be not sent of God to preach, it is also true that man cannot hear without a preacher, nor can he believe if he be not told what he has to believe, nor can he invoke Christ if he do not first believe; it will also be true that they only will invoke Christ to whom God shall send preachers or apostles, who shall preach Christ to them. So that all the force of St. Paul's words consists in this, "*except they be sent.*" And, hence it is easy to understand why our preachers do not move the hearts of men, withdrawing them from the world to God, and separating them from themselves for Christ, and making them more readily accept the grace of the Gospel. The reason is because they are not sent, because they are not Apostles; and that may be affirmed of them which God says by Jeremiah (xxiii. 21), "I have not sent these prophets, yet they ran; I have not spoken to them, yet they prophesied." Here, likewise, it is to be understood that they who preach Christian things, not being Apostles of Christ, do not preach Christ, however much they may use His name in the pulpit. But they preach themselves, their own fancies and imaginations, that which they imagine and invent taking, Christ as their subject; in the manner of those men who, making profession of other religions, tell their stories, each one taking as his subject the founder of his own religion. To preach Christ, it is necessary that the preacher be an Apostle, sent of God to preach Christ, he having accepted the righteousness of Christ. Those who have not accepted it do not understand it, and not understanding it, they are ill able to preach it, nor can they make their hearers understand it. Besides, all they may say will be opposed to it, because the human mind is incapable of receiving it.

ON MINISTRY.

Rom. x. 16, 17.

Sed non omnes, etc.

"But they have not all obeyed the gospel, for Esaias saith, Lord, who hath believed our report? So, then, faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God."

St. Paul means by this that the feet of those who preach the Gospel do not cease to be beautiful because all do not give credit to what is preached to them; he means to say that the incredulity of some does not derogate

from the dignity of those who are sent by God to preach, since the purpose of God is that those should believe to whom the good news is sent. This he proves from the authority of Esaias, who also says, that not all those who hear what is told them on the part of God believe it; but not on that account was his authority lessened. Whence I understand that St. Paul, employing that expression, *our report*, infers that man cannot believe unless he be told what it is he has to believe, and that the mere telling is inadequate, unless the individual telling him be *inspired, moved, and sent by God* to tell him it; so that the whole transaction depends upon the mere will of God who inspires the speaker, instructing him what to say, and disposes the listener to hearken. I think that, in the expression "*by the Word of God*," St. Paul understands "*by the word which I say*," being *inspired by God to speak it, and not by that which another has said, inspired of God*, which is, indeed, the Word of God, inasmuch as he who spoke it speaks inspired by God. But it will not be the Word of God if I speak it, not being inspired of God to say it; because, in order that it be the word of man, it is necessary that it should be spoken by man, so, in order to be the Word of God, it is necessary that it should be spoken by the Spirit of God through the mouth of him who announces it. Hence, the Apostles, the ministers of Christ, are called in the Holy Scriptures the mouth of God, because God speaks by them and in them. By this one may understand well what God speaks by Esaias (lv. 11), "That the Word which goeth forth from His mouth shall not return unto Him void, but that it shall accomplish that which He pleases." And hence we may understand how necessary it always is that, following the advice which Christ gave to His disciples, and which He gives to all of us, we should ask God that He would send amongst us persons who shall speak the words of God; that they speak, *being inspired, and not taught of men, speaking by Divine experience, and not by human science* (pp. 196, 197).

JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH.

Rom. viii. 10.

Si autem Christus in vobis, etc.

"But if Christ be in you, the body is indeed dead because of sin, but the Spirit is life because of righteousness."

If any one shall say, "By what shall I know whether I have the spirit of Christ or not, in order to be assured whether that which is affirmed be mine or not?" St. Paul says, that it is known by the two effects it produces upon the man in whom it dwells; of the which one is the death of the body through indwelling sin; and the other is the life of the mind through righteousness (justification) by faith. So that where there are these two effects, there is the spirit of Christ; and where they are not, there the spirit of Christ is not. And I understand that he may have them in whole or in part who has begun to have them, and in whom they begin to make themselves felt. By the expression "*because of sin*," I understand him to mean to say that Christ slew the bodies of those who are His members, because of their subjugation to sin. So that, because their bodies, or their flesh, which is just the same thing, are subject to sin, Christ slew them in His death. And by the expression "*because of righteousness*," I think he means you are quickened, because in believing you have been justified. Sin wrought the death of the body, and righteousness works life, or the quickening of the mind. So that here by the

spirit is to be understood the mind of man. They who in nowise experience themselves to be dead in their bodies or in their flesh, nor quickened in their minds and in the spirit, are warranted in judging themselves to be aliens from Christ, and from the effects of Christ's passion (p. 127).

JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH.

Rom. x. 3.

Ignorantes enim iustitiam, etc.

“For they being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God.”

This sentence is most divine, and most worthy to be considered in opposition to human wisdom, which ever aims at its own justification. For here St. Paul says, that for this reason the zeal of the Jews was not according to knowledge; for being ignorant of God's righteousness, they sought to justify themselves by their works and by their virtuous life; and thus they did not submit themselves to the righteousness of God. These words generally apply to all who aim at self-justification by their works; and I understand that all those who prize and esteem these works, to whom it seems that were they to be deprived of them, they would be deprived of their righteousness,—all such aim at being justified by them. This is the weakness of those who say, “entre cuero y carne,” between flesh and skin; wherefore every Christian ought to be watchful to recognize it, and even to seek means and remedies wherewith to discover and heal it. Nay, it will be better for me to say, that every Christian ought always to suspect himself of this infirmity, and rest assured that he is more or less subject to it; hence he ought to view all his works with a distrustful eye, and those more especially which have the outward garb of goodness and piety. By the “*righteousness of God*” I understand that wherein God is most just and most perfect in Himself; and they who are ignorant of the righteousness of God are not aware that the righteousness of man must be of the same exalted character, in order that man may be accepted of God as just; whilst they who know the righteousness of God, know that the aggregate of the universal innocence with which a man might live in this present life, would not suffice, in order that God should on this account accept him as just. Hence it is that they who are ignorant of God's righteousness go about to establish their own righteousness, to make it stable and firm, thinking and pretending to be held for its sake as righteous before God; and whilst such are their thoughts and such are their aims, they do not submit themselves to the *righteousness of God*. And I understand that they submit themselves to the righteousness of God who, recognizing God's righteousness and confessing their own unrighteousness, renounce and condemn all their righteousnesses, and profess to be righteous only through God's free grace, who executed the rigour of His justice upon Christ, in order to assure all those who should renounce and condemn their own righteousnesses, yielding themselves to God, that He accepts and holds them as just, on account of the justice which He executed upon Christ. And in this does man's submission and subjugation to the righteousness of God properly consist. So that all they who pretend to justify themselves by their works, by the very circumstance testify concerning themselves that they are ignorant how righteous God is. For if they knew it, they would despair of their ability to justify themselves by their works, and would submit themselves to the righteousness of God.

Whilst, on the other hand, they who have renounced their own righteousnesses, testify concerning themselves that they know how just God is ; and that, knowing it, they have despaired of themselves, and have placed their reliance on God, submitting themselves to the righteousness of God. And those who so remit themselves are accepted as righteous before God. From whence it may well be gathered that only the just know God as just ; and that only they are just who, renouncing their own righteousnesses, submit themselves to the righteousness of God, because they alone are justified by the righteousness of Christ, which St. Paul was warranted in calling *the righteousness of God*, because by it and with it God justifies us (pp. 183-185).

ON BAPTISM.

Rom. x. 10.

Corde enim creditur, etc.

“For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.”

Confirming that which St. Paul has said, “*thou shalt be saved,*” I understand why it is he says that, *by the faith of the heart*, man is justified before God, enjoying remission of sins and reconciliation with God ; acknowledging the righteousness of God, he renounces his own ; and submitting himself to the righteousness of God, claims to be just on account of that already executed upon Christ, understanding that God punished in Christ that which He had to punish in those whom He purposes to save. And this is the reason why, in order to obtain this salvation, man should confess with his mouth the faith he has in his heart. I understand this confession to relate to baptism, so that this of St. Paul corresponds with that of Christ, where He says, “He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved.” It is necessary that man should believe, and it is necessary that he should proclaim with his mouth the faith which he has in his heart, as well both for the Church, whose province it is to judge externally, as likewise for each individual severally, forasmuch as confession of the mouth increases the faith of the heart. And thus it is that there will be some who believe rightly of Christ and the Gospel, and feeling that it is a dangerous thing, and that it is despised and esteemed so vile by men, will not dare to confess it, lest they should suffer that danger and that shame ; and thus suppressing their faith they will by degrees lose it. But if, not ashamed of Christ or of the Gospel, they boldly confess with the mouth what they have in their hearts, it will be seen that their faith will increase in proportion as their confession shall be more fervent, more animated, and more efficacious. So that *faith in the heart* is that which is mainly necessary, and confession with the mouth is necessary likewise. But these words of St. Paul are not to be understood so restrictedly as that it suffice to confess the Lord Jesus with the mouth without entertaining Him in the heart ; nor that it suffice to believe with the heart in the resurrection of Christ, without confessing Him with the mouth. Neither is it to be understood that confession with the mouth without heartfelt faith suffices to salvation. But it is to be understood that God requires both these things—the heart and the mouth : the heart, in order that man may believe ; and the mouth, in order that he may confess what he believes. And by this faith and by this confession, God gives man two things—justification, because he believes with the heart, and salvation, because, by confessing with the mouth what he believes, he thereby fortifies his faith and increases it. I mean to say, that by believing he enjoys

justification, and by confessing he enjoys salvation. It is, indeed, true that faith in the heart fully suffices both for salvation and justification ; but this is when there is no necessity for confession with the mouth, and when a man cannot make it from some impediment that occurs to him, or from some other sufficient cause. And that this is so clearly appears from what Christ said, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved ;" and He added, "but he that believeth not shall be condemned." Where, not having added, "and he that shall not be baptized," it seems to be perfectly understood that not all those who are unbaptized shall be condemned, but all unbelievers and infidels shall be condemned. And I have already said that the confession of the mouth belongs to baptism, because such confession is demanded at baptism. I will even say this, that St. Paul having said, "*If thou shalt confess with thy mouth, and if thou shalt believe with thy heart, &c., and with thy mouth,*" &c., as if to give to everything its part—to faith, righteousness ; and to confession, salvation. But the result is the same ; for he that believes confesses, and he that is righteous obtains salvation (pp. 190-192).

SUPERSTITION THE FRUIT OF SELF-LOVE.

1 Cor. viii. 12.

Sic autem peccantes, etc.

"But when ye sin so against the brethren, and wound their weak conscience, ye sin against Christ."

This is as if St. Paul should say : Since thus it is that Christ died to save him whom you condemn, or cause to perish, it follows clearly that sinning against the Christian, polluting or wounding his conscience, you come to sin against Christ Himself, since you obstruct his work. *Against the brethren* he understands against Christians, and *wounding their weak conscience*, he understands making them do things by which they, having tender or weak consciences, consider themselves as lost or condemned. They whom we commonly call the superstitious and scrupulous, St. Paul calls the infirm or weak in faith and conscience. So that as superstitions and scruples are always founded in self-estimation and self-love, so also infirmity and weakness in faith have the same foundation. *When self-esteem is mortified and self-love uprooted, man is left free from superstitions and scruples*, and is left strong and sound in faith and conscience. Whence we may rightly conclude that where there are superstitions and scruples, there is infirmity and weakness in faith, and there is also self-esteem and self-love (pp. 154-5).

ON PURGATORY.

1 Cor. iii. 12, 13, 14.

Si quis autem superædificat, etc.

"Now if any man build upon this foundation gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble, every man's work shall be made manifest ; for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire, and the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is."

All this St. Paul declares in reference to those who wrongly instructed the Christians of Corinth, threatening those teachers with the revelation which would be made of all things, in the day of Judgment ; saying that

the brightness and fire of that day will give witness of the doctrine of every one of the workmen who labour in God's building. If it be good, and worthy of the foundation, it will stand the fire and be saved; but if it be vain and unworthy of the foundation, it will not resist the fire, and will perish. By *gold, silver, and precious stones*, I understand the good building, which consists in this, that he who builds upon faith in Christ, which is the foundation, builds up or promotes confidence in God, for it promotes mortification of the affections and appetites; it promotes contempt of the world and of self; it promotes humility, patience, and endurance in tribulation and adversity; it promotes union with God, and union with Christ, and with the members of Christ, and love and peace with all men. By *wood, hay, stubble*, I understand the vain building. And because I understand that although it be vain, it is still a building, I am certain that it does not consist in false doctrine contrary to the foundation, for then it would be no building; but that it consists properly in *vain devotions, which in themselves have no more reality or substance than what men give them*, which are unworthy of the foundation, and therefore do not enlarge the building; yet not being contrary to the foundation, they so far do not remove or overturn it. And by vain devotions I understand not those that are contrary to Christian truth, and are unworthy of Christ, because both these destroy the foundation; but the kind which neither increase the building nor demolish the foundation. By the expression "*for the day shall declare it*," St. Paul understood the day of Judgment, in which the works of all God's labourers will be made manifest. And by the expression "*it shall be revealed by fire*," he means that in that day there shall be a fire which will discover and manifest the works of every workman. It consumes by its brightness, as well as by its efficacy, and burns up all that is of wood, hay, stubble, purifying and refining all that is of gold, silver, and precious stones. So that St. Paul understands that the fire of the day of Judgment will light up the work of the labourers who have built upon the foundation of Christ that which is conformable to the foundation; and that the same fire will confound the work of the labourers who, on the same foundation, shall not have built in conformity with the foundation. By the expression "*the work*," he means the building. As to the quality of this fire that shall have this effect in the day of Judgment, I refer it to the consideration of those persons who profess to understand it, and to give explanation of it, contenting myself with knowing that it will be fire which will have this effect (pp. 58-60).

ON PURGATORY.

1 Cor. iii. 14, 15.

Si cuius opus manserit, etc.

"If any man's work abide which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward. If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire."

St. Paul having said that the fire of the day of Judgment will try that which God's labourers shall have wrought, which is the same as though he had said that which the servants have traded with by their talents, he proceeds to say what will be the consequence of the trial. And his opinion is that the workman, whose work, resisting the fire, shall be found solid and firm, will be rewarded by God; and that, although the workman whose work not resisting the fire shall go off in smoke will not be

condemned by God, yet he will escape as one who escapes from fire. This, I understand, is the substance (*sentenzia*) of these words, which through being rather confused, have given cause to those who tried to understand them to say what they have. By the expression "*If any man's work abide,*" he means, if there be any one whose work being gold, silver, or precious stones, shall remain safe and sound, resisting the fire, he shall be rewarded. And in the reward must be understood what I have previously said. These words "*Every one shall take his own reward,*" may have another meaning in the Greek, which is, that what is built up shall be rewarded; as for me, I am more satisfied with what I have said, that the builder shall be rewarded. By "*If any man's work shall be burned,*" I understand if there be any one whose work, through being wood, hay, stubble, cannot resist the fire, he will suffer damage, the work will suffer injury, or the building will be consumed or burned. And in the expression, "*Himself shall be saved,*" that is, the builder, I understand that St. Paul means what I have said, that he who builds wood, hay, stubble, is not a stranger to Christ, since he builds upon Christ, although he is far from making a good building, since he builds up the wood, hay, and stubble of vain devotions; that, as I have said, consist in human opinions and fancies, in dreams and visions which pass away; but the workman does not perish, being saved by faith in Christ. By "*yet so as by fire,*" he means to say he is saved, but is as one who passes through the fire. So that it is the same as if he said, he shall be saved; but, passing first through the fire, his edifice shall be burnt. As when one having escaped from the hands of robbers, says, I have escaped, but as one who escapes from the hands of robbers, meaning thereby, with the loss and damage and detriment that they experience who escape from the hands of robbers. This is what I at present understand of the words of St. Paul, not prejudging or condemning what others may understand of them. And I shall rest in this explanation until I perceive a better one (pp. 60-61).

THE HOLY SPIRIT.

Si linguis hominum, etc.

1 Cor. xiii. 1.

"Though I speak with the tongue of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal."

The Apostle's design in all this is to console and animate the Corinthians, who had not received those external gifts of the Holy Spirit which were usually bestowed upon believers. And he does this by showing that the man who possesses charity, Christian love, has attained to greater excellence, and is in a better position, than another who possesses all the external gifts of the Holy Spirit, even though he have them in the highest possible perfection. And it is in this Christian love that the Apostle intends to set forth the more excellent way, which he told the Corinthians he would show them. By *charity* he understands the love (the affectionate feeling) which the man who has accepted the grace of the Gospel cherishes towards God and Christ, and the things of God and Christ, loving God for Himself, and loving the things of God, not on their own account, but for God's sake. I understand this love (this affectionate feeling) to be wrought in man by the Holy Spirit, whom he receives, and more abundantly by a growing faith. So that the measure of the Holy Spirit's influence within a man is determined by the amount of the faith

which the man has ; and the measure of the fervour of the love (of the affectionate feeling) within a man is determined by the amount of the Holy Spirit's influences which the man has operating upon him. Whence it is to be understood that, just as St. Paul attributes all this excellency to *charity*, he might have attributed it to faith, since there is no greater difference between them than between the root of a tree and the fruit of the same tree. Faith is the root, and the fruit is love. By the expression "*Though I speak with the tongue of men and of angels,*" &c., it is to be understood that, though I attain the gifts of tongues in such perfection that, should I not only speak all the languages which all the men in the world have spoken, but likewise speak all the tongues spoken by all the angels in heaven, yet if, with all this, I do not possess love, I am like sounding brass and like a tinkling cymbal, &c. ; for, as the metal and as the cymbal when emitting sound, neither feel nor enjoy any sound or tinkling which they give forth when exercised, so I, wanting charity (the love, the affectionate feeling) shall neither feel nor enjoy that which I shall speak with the tongues. Whence I understand that it is charity (love, affectionate feeling) which gives taste and savour to the person who speaks of spiritual and Divine things. I mean to say that a man's taste for them is to be measured by the amount of his charity (his love, his affectionate feeling). And hence it comes to pass that men of the world have no taste for them, because they want charity ; they neither love God nor the things of God. And, as to the expression when he talks of "speaking with the tongues of angels," I understand this to be but a mode of heightening his argument (pp. 242-245).

ON LOVE AND SELF-LOVE.

1 Cor. xiii. 4-8.

Charitas patiens est, etc.

"Charity suffereth long, and is kind ; charity envieth not ; charity vaunteth not itself ; is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil ; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth ; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things ; charity never faileth."

St. Paul understands that, by these tokens, one may know how much a man possesses of this charity [or Christian love] of which he here speaks ; which he understands that, as love proceeds from faith as heat proceeds from fire, so love produces these effects, as the fruit is wont to proceed from the tree. Hence, one should consider that, if love proceeds from faith, and love produces the effects which St. Paul here enumerates, and many others, similar to these, which he does not mention ; in the same manner unbelief proceeds from self-love, and from self-love proceed contrary effects to those which St. Paul here mentions, and to others which he might have mentioned ; from which one may gather this conclusion, that, as much as a man has of faith and love, so much has he of these effects which St. Paul here mentions ; and, as much as a man has of unbelief and of self-love, so much has he of the effects which are contrary to those of love. The *first effect* of love is to *suffer long*, enduring and tolerating the evil and injury which it receives from others. Self-love is impatient. The *second effect* is to be *kind*. He means to say loving and pitiful, doing all

the good that it can. Self-love is unloving, cruel, hurtful. The *third effect* is *not to be envious*; never to be sorry for, nor think ill of, the good of one's neighbour. Self-love is wholly envious. The *fourth effect* is *not to be insolent*; *vaunteth not itself*, scorning and depreciating one's neighbour. Self-love is associated with insolence. The *fifth effect* is that it is *not puffed up* with self-esteem, or estimating itself highly. Self-love is presumptuous and ambitious. The *sixth effect* is that it is *not ashamed*; nay, having turned its back on the world, it utterly disregards the shame of the world. Self-love more esteems the regard of the world than the glory of God. Likewise, he may mean to say that love which is not ashamed is always careful to do and say the things which may not cause shame to any man on earth. Self-love holds it to be politeness to put to the blush whoever it can. The *seventh effect* is *not to seek its own*—not pursuing its own interest nor its own convenience—postponing its own to advance that of its neighbour. Self-love is interested, seeking always its own, and making the love of itself the first importance. The *eighth effect* is *not to be easily provoked*, however much men who are opposed to it may irritate and provoke it with ill-treatment. Self-love is all anger and revenge. The *ninth effect* is that it *thinks no evil*, putting rather a good than an evil construction on all that it sees and on what it hears, except when they are so evidently bad that no one can think well of them, but must think ill. Self-love thinks evil even of the things that can scarcely fail of a good construction. By the expression *thinks no evil* it may even be said does not attribute evil, does not impute a bad motive; but all means the same thing. The *tenth effect* of love is that it *rejoiceth not in iniquity*, but is depressed by it, is grieved and saddened by it, seeing that men depart from what is just and virtuous. Self-love rejoices when others are wicked, because its own malice does not seem so bad, and its own goodness is more apparent. The *eleventh effect* is that love *rejoiceth in the truth*, is gladdened that men practise truth one with another in word and deed. Self-love is opposed to the truth, because it is opposed to God. The *twelfth effect* is that it *bearth all things* which men do and say against it without being disturbed; and, if it be ruffled, does not avenge itself. Self-love bears with nothing. The *thirteenth effect* is that it *believeth all things*. This proceeds from the ninth effect, which is to think no evil; and hence it believes what is told it: he means external and worldly things, because it believes as far as it experiences of spiritual things and of the things of God. Self-love, as it is always suspicious, thinking evil continually, believes nothing; and, in short, doubts of everything. The *fourteenth effect* is that it *hopeth all things*, not hurrying itself in anything. Self-love always moves hurriedly, without knowing how to wait, but when it cannot do otherwise. The *fifteenth effect* is that it *endureth all things*; and, in fact, it is the same as what has been said in the first and in the twelfth effects, because to be longsuffering, to bear all things, and to endure all things is almost the same thing. St. Paul, having placed these effects as signs by which every one closely examining them may know how much he has of love and how much of self-love, propounds a marvellous property of love, saying, *Love never faileth*. Where it is generally understood that he means to say that love ever has wherein to exercise and practise itself; in fact, it is a truth that love has this property. But I do not believe that St. Paul meant this property; I should think he meant that love always maintains a steadfast course, and does not lose itself as self-love does; which, however much it may labour and strive to maintain itself in a virtuous and holy career, can never do so for any length of time; for, being opposed, it soon falls. I mean to say that I understand St. Paul to assert that the particular characteristic quality of

one who has love is always to remain solid, firm, and constant in piety and in justification, without ever falling away from them. Besides, from what follows, it appears that St. Paul intends to attribute this quality to love, and that it also remains and shall remain in the souls of those who are children of God, even to eternal life; on which account he uses this expression.

ON CHRISTIAN LOVE.

Here Valdés takes occasion to explain the highest degree of Christian love by the example of the natural and endeared affection he felt towards his brother Alfonso, as being his twin by birth.

Rom. xii. 9-13.

Dilectio sine simulatione, etc.

“Let love be without dissimulation. Abhor that which is evil; cleave to that which is good. Be kindly affectioned one to another, with brotherly love; in honour preferring one another. Not slothful in business, fervent in spirit, serving the time (*καίρω*); rejoicing in hope; patient in tribulation; continuing instant in prayer; distributing to the necessities of saints; given to hospitality.”

St. Paul, having assumed that the gifts of God are as varied in their character as the members of Christ's body vary amongst themselves, here lays down the Christian exercises and purposes in which they ought to resemble each other. In the first place, he insists that there be love, yet not like the love of the world, in which there is ever more dissimulation than truth, but like that of God, which is sincere and pure. By “evil” he understands all that is opposed to Christian piety; and by “good” he understands all that is conformable to and associated with piety. By the expression “*preferring one another,*” he understands that Christians are not to hold back until they are honoured by other Christians, ere they show others honour, but that they ought to anticipate them by showing honour first. The word honour, in the mouth of a Jew, may be synonymous with succour or relief to the needy. By the expression “*not slothful in business,*” he understands that they ought not to be slothful in affairs which demand solicitude and diligence. By the expression “*fervent in spirit,*” he understands that the minds of Christians ought to be fervent in spiritual things; and this fervour consists in never being lukewarm to God, to Christ, or to evangelical duty, and in never yielding to personal apathy, but in ever warmly maintaining this solicitude and diligence. When he says “*serving the time*” (*καίρω*), he might mean turning opportunity to account; and suggests that we should zealously avail ourselves of the circumstances offered us, in which we may evince our piety and our justice, developing them both in ourselves: no opportunity ought ever to be lost by the Christian, for a neglected one is tardily or never regained if once allowed to slip. In the expression “*rejoicing in hope,*” he understands joyous assurance and grateful anticipation of the fulfilment of the promises. The expectation of fulfilment of man's promises is uncertain, and forasmuch as it is so, it causes affliction and sorrow. But the expectation of the fulfilment of God's promises is sure, and as such it causes joy and rejoicing. By the expression “*patient in tribulation,*” he understands that it is the Christian's duty to show himself firm and constant in afflictions, neither dejected nor weak, so that his mind is not to

be disturbed by afflictions ; and if they should disturb him, he is not to be so to the extent of fleeing from them ; for by their endurance his faith is increased, and thereby, consequently, both his righteousness and holiness are so likewise. He "*continues instant in prayer*" who fixedly and steadily cherishes an inward desire to promote the glory of God, as also his neighbour's and his own salvation. This *sustained desire is the Christian's continuous prayer, who, as he ever desires, prays without ceasing, and persevering in desire, perseveres in prayer ; and the mental prayer is that which God hears, as is said by the Psalmist in Psalm ix.* They who do not desire do not pray. This "*continuing instant in prayer*" may also well be what St. Paul understands, and of which we read as having been practised by the primitive Church, observing a certain method of prayer, in which they were engaged for a long while, and which was possibly a relic of Judaism. It appears from the Gospel history that Christ sought privacy in prayer, and that He persevered in it. Where St. Paul speaks of "*distributing to the necessities of saints,*" he alludes to alms and works of charity, but to Christians, whom he calls saints ; for if they are Christians, they are saints, and if they are not saints, they are not Christians.

This is one of those passages in St. Paul from which it is to be gathered that the Christian has to exercise his charity in the first place, and principally, upon those who are Christians, and amongst these, upon those who, being more exalted Christians, are more exalted saints. True it is that to the Christian who is regulated by the Spirit of God, there is no need to give him rules for the exercise of charity, for he has within himself the true and certain rule, which is the Holy Spirit. And I will say this, that the Christian in his love towards a true Christian, and towards a man who is either no Christian at all or only a feigned one, ought to make the difference which a man makes between a *twin brother* and another brother born before or after him. And I understand that as no one can feel the difference that there is between the love existing between *twin brothers* and the love existing between other brothers, but the individual who shall have had or has a *twin brother* and a brother or brothers born before or after him ; so neither can they feel the difference which there is between the love of Christians amongst themselves, through the union which they have with Christ, and the love of other men ; but they only can do so who are united with Christ, for they alone realize this difference, and by them alone is it felt. They who were "*given to hospitality*" in the days of St. Paul, received under their roofs those poor Christians who fled from the persecution of men from one place to another ; and in such seasons this hospitality was much needed ; for persecutors were numerous, but the persecuted were still more so. The mere appellation of Christian then involved persecution ; now, indeed, that a man is not persecuted, because he styles himself a Christian—nay, but when that title is prized and esteemed, persecution no longer being public, the persecuted do not flee from place to place. There are, indeed, persecutors and persecuted, but not on account of a man's avowing himself a Christian, but on account of his leading a Christian life, his following Christ as his pattern, and "*walking even as He walked,*" as St. John expresses himself (1 John ii. 6). This is not public but secret persecution, and much more severe than that above spoken of. Thus the persecuted, because they need no longer flee persecution, do not need the hospitality formerly practised ; but they do need to be helped and succoured in other ways (pp. 247-251).

At this period of Valdés' life he seemed to direct all his finished studies to the edification of Giulia Gonzaga. His

method of training her mind he clearly explains in a beautiful epistle prefixed, like that to the *Alfabeto Christiano*, to the copy of his Commentary on Romans, which he transcribed for her with his own hand. He had previously sent her the Psalms, translated from the Hebrew into Spanish; and at a later period he sent her his translation from the Greek of the Gospel of Matthew, with a commentary.

EPISTLE OF JUAN DE VALDÉS TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS LADY,
SIGNORA DONNA GIULIA GONZAGA.

I am persuaded, most illustrious Signora, that by the constant perusal of the Psalms of David, which I sent to you last year, translated from Hebrew into Spanish, you will have formed in yourself a mind, pious, confiding in God, and referring all things to God, such as David's was. Desirous now, that proceeding onwards you may form in yourself a mind perfect, firm, and constant in things belonging to the Gospel of Christ, such as St. Paul had, I send you these Epistles of St. Paul, translated from the Greek into Spanish. By the continual reading of them, I am certain that you will make great progress in spiritual edification. But this will only be, provided you read them in order to form and establish your mind, according as St. Paul's was formed and established, and not for the purpose of vain knowledge or curiosity, as some *unreligious* persons do, who think to put an obligation upon God by setting themselves to read St. Paul, like those who, being Spaniards, would think to compliment a Greek emperor by speaking to him in Greek.

I wish to impress this upon you, that you should so far imitate David as you know that he imitated God; and that you should copy St. Paul so far as you know that he imitated Christ. This I mention, because it concerns you to become very much like Christ and very much like God, striving to recover that *image* and *likeness* of God, in conformity to which the first man was created. And I am not satisfied that you should think to regain this, having only David and St. Paul before you as patterns. Because at best that would happen to you which occurs to the painter, who, copying a portrait drawn by another painter, not only fails to attain to the truthfulness of nature, but does not even attain to the perfection of the picture from which he drew it, or, if he does so, it is as by a miracle. I say, then, that this does not satisfy me. Because I wish you to keep David and St. Paul in view as patterns only so long as your mind is not capable of taking Christ and God for your patterns. Endeavouring always to perfect yourself in what concerns piety, and in all that belongs to the Gospel, in such a manner that as your mind may become able to take Christ and God for patterns, you will come to draw your portrait according to the nature of the real image of Christ, and according to the very image of God; so that *your* picture may serve for a pattern to others, in a similar manner that the pictures of David and St. Paul now serve for patterns to you.¹

And if what I say appear to you to be something new and not used in practice, know that it is not new, but that it is ancient, and was much practised, although, not being understood, it now appears to be new and not practised. That it was so appears from what St. Paul, writing to the Corinthians, tells them, that they are carnal, and not spiritual. He says to them, "Be ye imitators of me, as I also am an imitator of Christ;"

¹ See at pp. 110, 111 the Sonnets of Bernardo Tasso to Giulia Gonzaga.

meaning, imitate me according as I imitate Christ. Here it must be understood that, had the Corinthians been spiritual, he would not have said to them, "Imitate me, draw your picture from that which I have drawn of Christ;" but he would have said to them, as he said to the Ephesians, who were spiritual, "Be ye imitators of God, as dear children; endeavour to recover the *image* and *likeness* of God, drawing it not from any man, but from God himself." It appears that Jesus Christ our Lord Himself had the same object, as in one part He says, "Learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly of heart;" and in another, "Be ye perfect, even as your Father in heaven is perfect." You see here that in counselling you to draw the picture of the very image of Christ and of the very image of God, I tell you no new or unpractised thing, but a thing ancient and practised by Christ Himself, and by His Apostle St. Paul. It remains that commending yourself to God, you apply your mind to it. This you will do by imitating David so far as he imitated God, and was conformed to the *image* and *likeness* of God, having drawn his picture from God himself; and imitating St. Paul so far as he imitated Christ, and was conformed to the *image* and *likeness* of Christ, having drawn his picture from Christ himself. And do not rest here, but, passing onwards, consider that you have to imitate God, drawing your picture to the life from the very *image* of Christ, and the very *image* of God. And, therefore, in order to imitate Christ, and to draw your picture of Christ, the continual reading of the histories of Christ will be of much service to you; for they have much efficacy, containing many of the deeds of Christ, and many of the words He spoke. In these I understand God shows much greater power, moving persons' hearts by them, mortifying them and renewing them, than in any other that are found written. I think, by the favour of God, to furnish you with these from the Gospel, as I have already furnished you with those of David and St. Paul.

And know most surely that, as by the reading of St. Paul, the wonderful effects of the Cross of Christ are known, seen, and felt; so in the reading of the histories of Christ is wonderfully known, seen, and felt the very Cross of Christ. And under this word Cross I understand all that which was weakness and infirmity in Christ, as much in what He himself felt, enduring hunger and thirst, cold and heat, with all the other inconveniences to which our bodies are subject; and in suffering affliction and anguish for things that He beheld amongst men and in men, and fearfully feeling death, as well in what He outwardly showed in that He was considered to be a man low, base, and common, and was treated as such; and as a man scandalous and dangerous, and as such was crucified. I will accomplish what I say relative to the histories of Christ, when and how it may please the Divine Majesty. Meanwhile lose no time, endeavour every day to make yourself more like God, making use of reading the Psalms of David; and more like Christ, making use of the reading of St. Paul, in which you will also see the Cross of Christ, although not so clearly as in the Gospels. And because the reading of St. Paul being commonly held to be more difficult than that of the Gospels, it may appear strange to you that I have given you St. Paul before the Gospels; I wish you to know that, according to my apprehension, there is without doubt greater difficulty in the perfect understanding of the Gospels than of the Epistles of St. Paul. This I conceive proceeds from various causes, which would be long to enumerate here. I will only say this: that because I read in St. Paul the ideas and experiences of St. Paul; and in the Gospels the many thoughts and experiences of Christ, I find so much greater difficulty in the perfect understanding of the Gospels than in the perfect understanding of St. Paul, as I conceive that the thoughts and experiences of

Christ were more exalted and more divine than the ideas and experiences of St. Paul, not denying that, as to the general sense, and as to the style, the Gospels may be much more intelligible than St. Paul. But respecting this I reserve to speak more at large when it may please God that I come to translate the Gospels.

In the translation I have wished to go very close to the letter, rendering it word for word as much as was possible for me to do so ; and even leaving the ambiguities found in the Greek, when the text might apply in one sense or another, where I have been able to leave it so in the Spanish. I have done this because in translating St. Paul I have not pretended to write my own conceptions, but those of St. Paul. It is very true I have added some little words to the text where they appeared to me needful ; but some of them are understood in the Greek although they are not written, and others seem to be necessarily understood. All of these, as you will see, are marked, in order that you may know them for mine and use them as you please, whether you read them or not. Yet be advised, that as it is not well to make of little account what God by Himself may give you to understand in this reading, so neither is it well for you to trust much to your own judgment, depreciating the judgment of others. It is not well for you to undervalue your own, and it is worse for you to undervalue that of others.

In the explanations that I have written upon what I have translated, I have approached the mind of St. Paul as much as was possible for me, writing down his ideas, and not my own ; and if I have departed from them in anything, it has been through ignorance, and not wilfully. I shall most willingly, therefore, be glad to be corrected and improved in what may not have been correct, and chiefly in what might give birth to any scruple, however small, that may arise in any Christian mind soever. For although, as you are aware, my principal object in these writings has been to satisfy your desire, yet whilst desiring to make them of use to you, I wish at the same time to benefit all those persons who may read them, nor offend the lowliest of them all in anything. This is my principal profession, because I understand the Son of God made this profession in the present life, whom I, being a Christian, am obliged to imitate. Do not think that the Spanish will serve you to understand the *words* of the Latin which I put at the head of the explanations, because frequently they do not agree one with the other ; but consider that they only serve you more readily to understand what is the Latin to which the Spanish answers, and which, as I have said, is conformable to the Greek text, and not to the Latin, because St. Paul wrote in Greek, not in Latin.

And because in certain cases you may wish to read the text of St. Paul without occupying yourself with my explanations, in order that you may do so with greater facility, I wish to inform you of some particulars which will open the way and render the knowledge of the mind of St. Paul more easy. I therefore tell you that by the word *GOSPEL* St. Paul means the proclamation of the good news, of the general pardon which is published throughout the world, affirming that God has pardoned all the sins of all men in the world, executing the severity of His justice for them all upon Christ. It was He who made known this general pardon in the world, and in His name all those who make it known proclaim it, in order that men, moved by the authority of Christ, who is the Son of God, may believe in the general pardon, and confiding in the word of God, may hold themselves as reconciled with God, and cease to seek after other means of reconciliation. Whence you should understand that God in this case has acted and continues to act towards mankind like a prince, his subjects having rebelled, and through their rebellion fled the kingdom, who gives

forth a general pardon, and sends it to be proclaimed by his son, in order that they may give credit to the pardon through the authority of the son, and thus confiding in the prince's word, they may return to the kingdom, desisting from endeavours to procure pardon of the prince in any other way or by any other means whatever. It is thus to be understood that they who believe Christ is the Son of God, and yet give no credit to the general pardon which He published, and is still publishing, not holding themselves reconciled with God, and going about seeking some other way of reconciliation, not trusting in that which Christ published, and in whose name it is still proclaimed, act just as the subjects of that prince do, who believing that he who publishes the general pardon is the prince's son, yet do not hold themselves forgiven, and therefore do not return to his kingdom.¹ And I understand that neither will the prince to whom this occurs be satisfied as regards his intention in this, that he did not send his son except with the purpose that, being known as his son, he might be believed in what he declared ; nor does it appear that God is satisfied in His intention in those who, knowing Christ to be the Son of God, yet not relying upon what He proclaims on His part, do not hold themselves reconciled with God ; His intent being only satisfied in those who, knowing Christ as the Son of God, and confiding in what He proclaims on the part of God, consider themselves reconciled to God, and therefore as pious, just, and holy. It is very true that the knowledge they have that Christ is the Son of God, who yet do not feel reconciled to God, cannot properly be called *knowledge*, being more properly *opinion* than knowledge. Because, if it were knowledge, it would produce in them the effect it produces in others, assuring them of their reconciliation with God, and giving peace to their consciences.

Besides this, you should know that, by the LETTER St. Paul comprehends all that a man does, thinks, and speaks without being inspired by God to it, although they may be things that other men have thought, said, and done, being inspired. And by the SPIRIT he comprehends all that a man does, thinks, and speaks, being moved and inspired by God to it. It was the *Letter* in St. Peter to separate himself from the conversation of the Gentiles in Antioch, not to scandalize the Jews ; and it was the *Spirit* in St. Paul that reproved him for it. Further : know that by FAITH St. Paul intends the belief that a man gives to the general pardon which Christ published, and which is still published on the part of Christ, and in His name. And by HOPE he means the patience and endurance with which the believer expects the accomplishment of what he believes, without being weary of waiting, and without ceasing to endeavour after what he expects. And by CHARITY he signifies the most intimate affection with which the man who believes expects and loves that which he believes and waits for ; loving God and Christ, of whom and through whom he must gain what he believes, expects, and loves, loving also all things that are of God and of Christ. You must know, besides, that, by the RIGHTEOUSNESS OF GOD St. Paul means the perfection of God. Thus, when we wish to say of a man that he is perfect, we say that he is righteous, meaning that there is nothing in him that is not very good, and in effect wanting nothing. By the GRACE OF GOD he signifies the favour God shows to man, drawing him to accept the general pardon, supporting him and enriching him with other inward favours which are called graces, because God gives them gratuitously, without any regard to merit, and solely because it is His will to bestow. By the GIFT OF GOD he chiefly means, having given us Christ, that the severity of His justice being

¹ See the "Hundred and Ten Considerations," Consid. XIII.

executed upon Him, we might hold the general pardon as certain; and he means in particular the exterior gifts of the Holy Spirit, which in St. Paul's time were abundantly communicated to them who believed. By SIN he almost always means the inclination and appetite to sin which lives in man through natural and acquired depravity; and I say *almost* always, because by sin he sometimes means the sacrifice for sin. By the OLD MAN he signifies man unregenerated and unrenewed by the Holy Spirit, and by the NEW MAN he signifies man regenerated and renewed by the Holy Spirit.

You should also know that, by the FLESH, by the CARNAL MAN, by the BODY OF SIN, and by the LAW IN THE MEMBERS, he means the same as by the Old man, which is nature without the Holy Spirit. By the LAW OF GOD he intends that which God gave to the Hebrew people by Moses, which he sometimes calls the LAW OF DEATH, because its office is to condemn. At other times he calls it the LAW OF SIN, because it stirred up in man the inclination and appetite for sin. By the LAW OF THE SPIRIT he means faith. By CIRCUMCISION he means JUDAISM, and by the UNCIRCUMCISION he means the Gentiles. And lastly, understand by CHRISTIAN LIBERTY he comprehends the degree, the being, and the dignity to which God brings the man who accepts the grace of the Gospel, and who, being regenerated, renewed, and made a child of God, is free and exempt from those things to which other men are subject, so far as he maintains himself in the state of regeneration and newness of life, and does not deprive himself of the filial relationship in which he is guided and governed by the Spirit of God. All this may serve you as a guide by which you may attain to many of the things you will read in St. Paul.

And, because you may be surprised to see that St. Paul, setting himself to reprehend certain vices in some of those persons to whom he writes, and warning them of those vices they ought to be on their guard against, mentions some that are shameful even in men of the world; and this appearing to you a strange thing for it to be necessary to warn Christians of such vices, while he does not touch upon the more inward vices, know then, that in St. Paul's time, because there were some who, under a plea of Christian liberty, made licence for the flesh, and gave themselves up to sin and deceitfulness, it was necessary that St. Paul should expressly treat upon that in which they most sinned. It was also necessary, at that period, to remedy in this manner those outward vices in Christian professors, because they did not look upon them as sinful, nor were they ashamed of them, through the false persuasion of Christian liberty into which they fell, and through having given up the estimation of the world. In the same manner it is now necessary to correct the inward vices of Christian persons, who, abstaining partly for God's sake and partly for the world's sake from outward vices, fail to overcome the inward sins, in part because they do not know them as vices, and in part because the world holds the giving up of those vices as itself a vice. You will find in St. Paul some things which you will not feel in yourself, and you will find others you do not comprehend, and some others that will appear strange to you. It appears to me all these you ought to pass by, not being careful to weary yourself much in order to understand them, since the object for which you set yourself to read St. Paul is not to comprehend all St. Paul says, but to form your mind by that which God gives you to understand, and feel, and relish in St. Paul. I advise you also that, when you begin to read an Epistle, you fail not to read the argument written before it, because it throws much light on the whole Epistle.

But all these advices are as nothing : there is yet another of more value than all of them ; this is that, whenever you take St. Paul in hand, you commend yourself to God, praying Him to send His Holy Spirit, who may guide you in this reading ; and seek to receive it by means of the only-begotten Son of God, Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.¹

Naples.

JUAN DE VALDÉS.

It may well be expected that Giulia Gonzaga should preserve the writings of one who had shown so much affectionate interest in her eternal well-being, and who had so greatly laboured to conduct her on the road towards Christian perfection. Through years of personal danger she religiously kept them ; making them, however, as Valdés had requested, useful by their communication to her intimate friends. So much, indeed, had they been used before they came to the press, that Valdés' countryman Juan Perez, when editing the Commentary on the Romans in his retreat at Geneva, mentions that the original came into his possession so worn from constant use since it had been written by the hand of the author himself, that he had found "great labour in restoring it to its first integrity, conformable to the intention of him who composed it, who certainly was a very learned man and truly a Christian ;" and he believed it had been brought to his hands by Divine Providence, without his thought or expectation, that so pious a work should be perpetuated for the future.²

¹ *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles. Tomo X. 1856. La Epistola a los Romanos. Epistola Dedicatoria, p. vii-xviii.*

² *Al Christiano Lector, pp. 19, 20.*

CHAPTER VII.

THE HUNDRED AND TEN CONSIDERATIONS of Juan de Valdés appear to have been his latest composition. They exhibit the most finished conceptions of his mind on the subjects of which they treat. In what manner the Sunday readings with his friends were conducted, of what nature were the subjects he delighted to expound to them, and his readiness to entertain their discussions, we have already described. We think that the manner in which many of the CX. Considerations conclude give evidence of the truth of this representation. Each of them is a distinct piece, and if they are examined, it will generally be found that they wind up with a judicial summary, somewhat in this mode:—“From whence I am led to gather,” Cons. lxxvii. “Two things I learn from this discourse,” Cons. lxxviii. “In all that has been said, I come to two conclusions,” Cons. lxxii. “Having understood how the union between God and man is made by love, and that love springs from the knowledge which man has of God, I come to this conclusion,” Cons. lxxiii. “From all this discourse, I am led to make this conclusion,” Cons. lxxvi., &c.

It is not our purpose to analyze the Considerations, or to explain or defend any of their principles. Whatever might be said, the reader, having the volume before him, will form his own opinion; and we are satisfied it should be so, knowing that the author would be himself of this judgment. According to the reader's own *experience*, rather than his knowledge, will he appreciate them. For the same reason we do not here reply to the censures of Calvin or Beza; they have been ably answered by Dr. Ed. Boëhmer,¹ in his edition of the original Italian. The claim to Valdés' high name, set up by the early anti-Trinitarians,¹ and repeated

¹ “Le Cento e dieci Divine Considerazioni di Giovanni Valdesso, Halle in Sassonia, MDCCCLX.” “Cenni Biografici sui Fratelli Giovanni e Alfonso di Valdesso” 1861, pp. 583-592. See also Dr. Ed. Boëhmer's article on Valdés in the “Real-Encyclopädie für Theologie und Kirche,” xvii. pp. 25-26, in which he remarks, “It is surprising that Beza, notwithstanding that he disallows that book [CX. Considerations] to rank as a pious one, still entertained such impression of Valdés' character, that he ex-

pressly declares that it remained wholly unaffected by any observation he had ever made. And fourteen years later, when drawing up a biographical notice of Vermigli, whom he praises as a faithful disciple of Christ, he characterizes Vermigli's meeting with Valdés “as a blessed epoch in his career: mutually agreed upon the vital points of true religion, they jointly formed a Christian Church in Naples.” Valdés died in 1540.

Every person will be at once aware

through all the dictionaries, is utterly unfounded. With the exception of the CX. CONSIDERATIONS, they appear not to have known his religious writings at all; and we can only be surprised at their presumption in claiming him as one with themselves from one sentence in his works, and that illogically wrested from its proper meaning. The reader will find the sentence referred to in Consideration CIX., and will form his judgment accordingly.

The collection of these discourses was probably made from loose sheets, or, perhaps, even from notes or minutes taken down week by week, at the time when each Consideration was delivered. Neither have we any assurance that they are clothed in the exact expressions in which Valdés uttered them. They may be found tedious when read consecutively, by their mannerism¹ and balancing of opinions, if we may so speak, or they may offend by the frequent recurrence of antithesis; but if they were read in the textual language used by Valdés, in the same order in which he uttered them, these objections would disappear, or would have a natural solution. It should likewise be borne in mind that if each one of these CONSIDERATIONS be read at an interval equal or approximate to that which was interposed when they were first delivered, the tedium incident to such reading will be modified. The tenor of all of them presupposes, too, a mind in the reader somewhat attuned to that of the writer. *Human creeds* did not come between him and Jesus Christ. It is evident that he desired that no formula of human construction should interpose between him and his Saviour in prescribing to him articles of faith. He sought in this Great Teacher all his instruction in the Christian religion by means of his "two books, prayer and meditation." We may likewise say that he felt himself at the feet of a Master who was not human, but divine; for he desired to arrive at the knowledge of the truth without

that he who had pursued the hapless Spaniard Servetus to a cruel and untimely death, could not be one in mind with another Spaniard who wrote thus: "In which I apprehend that I ought to guard myself as from fire, from persecuting *any man in any manner professing thereby to serve God.*" Again, "We ought never to distrust the salvation of man, so long as there is breath in the body, ever hoping that God may do that which He is able and wont to do, letting Himself be known, and showing him Christ, in order that knowing he may believe and love: and that believing, he may enjoy Christian justifica-

tion, and enjoying Christian justification, he may go to live and reign with Jesus Christ our Lord." — *Consid. LXXVI. and LXIX.*

The more Christian temper of our milder age will determine which spirit, Calvin's and Beza's, or Valdés', most resembled that Master's whom they both professed to love and follow.

¹ Yet this peculiar mannerism and balanced style assures to the reader the true authorship of his anonymous pieces; for when found even in a translation of a translation, as it were the shadow of a shade, they show the form of their true original.

any alloy of error, and he expected to receive it by direct illumination from Him who teaches "as never man taught." He held that the mode of attaining truth was to hearken to Christ alone, forsaking all human teachers. In many passages of the CX. CONSIDERATIONS, in his Dialogues, and in his Commentaries upon the Epistles, he depicts his personal condition and the progressive state of his mind, ever alert to receive his heavenly Master's instructions and to reject those of men; and all this without defection from Christian unity, practically holding the latter to its fullest extent, fleeing as from fire from the accursed spirit of persecution, from that *odium theologicum*, or *spirit of faction*, in matters of religion, which divides men into conflicting sects, and teaches them to hate each other, all defending their equally fallible dogmas, whilst each arrogates to himself the *authority of being infallible*.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century, Morhof, in his "Polyhistor," said of Juan de Valdés and his principal work, the CX. CONSIDERATIONS: "He appears to us to be commendable for his writings in the highest degree. Those Considerations of his are full of piety, and evidently written with the taste of a purer theology than the common, so that there is no pontifical leaven to be found in them. And it is altogether wonderful that even in that age there were men concealed under papal darkness who profoundly fathomed the depths of religious mysteries. The book was one truly worthy of being turned into Latin or German; it occasionally breathes so sympathetically with Arndt¹ that it would seem as though they spoke but with one mouth. It ever scrutinizes our actions very closely; it evinces in its great discretion a true acquaintance with Christianity, and is on that account singularly to be commended."²

The CX. CONSIDERATIONS certainly embrace the most varied religious subjects; they are ever sustained by the same practical sense, and are charged and supported with Scriptural illustrations. The great doctrines of Justification by Faith in Christ, and Sanctification by the agency of the Spirit, form the groundwork of all the religious writings of Valdés, and he especially inculcates them.

Amongst the individuals to whom more particularly may be attributed the preservation of those writings of Juan de Valdés which have come down to us, we can with certainty point out Giulia Gonzaga and Pietro Carnesecchi. We have

¹ John Arndt's "True Christianity."

² Morhof's "Polyhistor," Lubecæ, 1747, tom. i. p. 996.

already mentioned the latter as one of the social circle who surrounded Valdés at Naples. After the death of Valdés, Carneseccchi succeeded to his place in the confidence of Giulia Gonzaga. One of his preferments was an abbey at Naples; he possessed also an abbey in France, travelling between these places at his pleasure; a liberty useful to him in those perilous times. He went by way of Florence or Venice, and occasionally by that of Geneva and Lyons. After the death of Clement VII., he retired to Naples, where he became intimate with Valdés, and was in that city, December, 1540, when he died; and if he did not himself receive his last confession, which is very probable, he at least knew what it was, for his commendation of it formed part of the accusation against him on his trial, in 1567, before the Inquisition at Rome. We fortunately possess the heads¹ of the accusation framed by the inquisitors, drawn from the original record, which supplies us with various important particulars. It charges him with having been, "before the year 1540, indoctrinated by the late Juan Valdés, a Spaniard; Marc Antonio Flaminio, and Bernardino Ochino, of Sienna, and holding converse with them, and with Peter Martyr [Vermigli], with Galeazzo Caracciolo, and with many other heretics and those suspected of heresy, reading the book of the *Beneficio di Christo*, and writings of the said Valdés" (pp. 3—7).

"In the following year [Dec. 1541], at Viterbo, treating about the same and other heresies with Flaminio, Vittore Soranzo, Bishop of Bergamo, with Apollonio Merenda, and Luigi Priuli" (pp. 8-10).

The accusation further charges against him "that afterwards, in Venice, he held communication with Pietro Paulo Vergerio, Bishop of Capo d'Istria, and with Lattantio Ragnone, of Sienna, the latter a disciple of Valdés." "And he recommended by letter to an Italian princess [Giulia Gonzaga] two heretical apostates, with as much warmth of feeling as if they had been two Apostles, sent to preach the faith to the Turks, which apostates were desirous of opening a school [at Fondi], in the territory of that lady, with the intention of making their tender little scholars learn some heretical catechisms" (pp. 11, 12). Again, "That, together with a person his accomplice, *una persona, tua complice* [Giulia Gonzaga], he reprehended, and disapproved of as scandalous and superfluous, the confession of

¹ "Report of the Trial and Martyrdom of Pietro Carneseccchi," &c. Translated from the original MS., and edited with an English translation, fac-similes of signatures, an introduction, and illustrative notes, by Richard Gibbings, B.D., of Trinity College, Dublin, &c. Dublin and London, 1856. Now become scarce.

the Catholic faith made at the close of his life by a personage of high rank, in which, amongst other things, he acknowledged the Pope, and particularly him who was then in authority, to be the true Vicar of Christ and the successor of St. Peter; praising Valdés at the conclusion of his life much more than the said personage" (pp. 21, 22). . . .

Again, "That he arranged to receive in Venice the prohibited pestiferous books and writings of the said Valdés from a personage, *una persona, tua complice* [Giulia Gonzaga], his accomplice, who had them in custody, in order to cause some of them to be printed and published, notwithstanding the prohibition issued by the Holy Office; or at least that they might be removed from sight and secreted, teaching that it was not a sin to retain prohibited books, but an indifferent act according to the conscience; pledging also to be a diligent conservator of them, and affirming it to be a greater sin, with regard to the soul, to burn them than to preserve them" (pp. 22, 23).

And again, "In the same manner, in the year 1564, he treated with that personage [Giulia Gonzaga], his accomplice and conservatrix—*conservatrice* (fem.)¹ of the said writings and books² of Valdés, that they might be remitted to him at Venice by a safe mode, as well through the wish to preserve them as also to free that personage from the danger with which the keeping of them threatened her" (pp. 28, 29). And finally, "That he held all the errors and heresies contained in that book, the *Beneficio de Christo*, and the false doctrine and institutions taught to him by the said Juan Valdés, his master" (p. 43).

When Vergerio finally withdrew from Italy, having had intercourse with Carneseccchi at Venice, in October, 1548, he carried with him the manuscript of the Italian translation of *Cento et dieci divine Considerationi*, and got it printed and published, in May 1550, at Basle, with a prefatory commendation by Celio Secondo Curione.³ When

¹ It is to be remarked that in this place and in the former instances, where the words "*una persona tua complice, tua conservatrice*" are used in the original process, Mr. Gibbings translates them in the masculine; they are, however, undoubtedly to be read as feminine, and could apply to no other person than the Italian Princess, Giulia Gonzaga, whom we have sufficient and certain evidence to prove was in correspondence with Carneseccchi, and was the preserver of the works of Valdés, and for whom many were written

and committed to her custody by Valdés himself. See his Epistles to her.

² By the year 1564 these works of Valdés had been printed—the Two Dialogues in Italian at Venice; the *Alfabeto Christiano* at the same place; the *CX. Considerations* in Italian at Basle; the two Epistles, with Commentaries, 1556 and 1557, in Spanish [at Geneva], having the imprint of Venice; and, we may add also, the *CX. Considerations* in French at Lyons, 1563.

³ See Curione's Epistle at the commencement of the *CX. Considerations*.

Carnesecchi, shortly afterwards, went to France, going and returning in 1551-2, he passed through Lyons. In that city, and at Paris, and in the court, he introduced from Italy a book by Valdés, and presented it as a gift. The French translation of the *Considerationi* was printed at Lyons in 1563, and again at Paris in 1565, for which his previous visits would seem to have prepared the way by his recommendation and introduction of copies of the edition in Italian. Carnesecchi is accused of having received letters from Lyons and Geneva, and of having, in 1564, arranged with a friend—*tua complice et conservatrice*, who was associated with him as keeper of the books and *writings* of Valdés, that they should be sent by safe conveyance to Venice, being anxious as well to preserve them as to deliver that personage from the danger which threatened *her* from having them in her possession (pp. 28, 29). The distinction made between the *writings* and *books*, and the circumstances respecting them, evidently show that Carnesecchi had a great interest in the care and possession of the manuscripts or "*writings*," and probably the Italian translations, and that he diligently promoted the printing of them at Venice; and it is scarcely to be doubted that he was also concerned in those editions which issued from Basle, Lyons, Paris, and Geneva.

A LIST OF THE WORKS OF VALDÉS.

1. Dialogo de Mercurio y Caron : en que allende de muchas cosas
graciosas y de buena doctrina : se cuenta lo que ha acaesido
en la guerra desde el año de mill y Quinjentos y veynte y vno
hasta los desafios delos Reyes de Francia y Ynglaterra hechos
al Emperador en el año de 1528, 4to. and 8vo., Gothic letter,
3 editions 1529 ?
—¹ in German, 4to. Amberga, 1609. Frankfort, 8vo. ... 1643
2. Dialogo : en que particularmente se tratan : las cosas acaeidas
en Roma : el año de M.D.XXVII. A gloria de Dios y bien
vniuersal de la Republica christiana. 4to. G. L. 1529 ? 8vo.,
2 editions, s. d. et a. Roman letter, Paris, 8vo. ... 1586
— The Sacke of Roome, Exsequited by the Emperour
Charles' armies euen at the Natiuitie of this Spanish Kinge
Philip. . . . Translated latelie into the English tounge.
London, 4to. B.L. 1590
- Dos Dialogos escritos por Juan de Valdés, ahora cuidados
mente reimpressos. "Valdesio Hispanus Scriptorum superbiat
orbis." 8vo. (*Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*, T. iv.) Año de 1850

¹ A version of the *Diálogo de Mercurio y Caron* from the Spanish into German, made, as it seems, shortly after the publication of the original, is preserved in manuscript in the library of Count Ortenberg, at Tambach, in Franconia, 12 miles from Gotha: vedi Serapeum, 1844, p. 122. A copy in German, printed at Amberg, in Bavaria, bearing the date of 1609, is in the Ducal Library, Gotha. Both these are mentioned by Dr. Edward Boehmer, in his ample notes to the CX. *Considerationi*; ed. Halle, 1861, p. 490.

- Dve dialoghi. L'vno di Mercvrio, et Caronte: Nel quale, oltre molte cose belle, gratiose, et di buona dottrina, si racconta quel, che accadè nella guerra dopò l'anno M.D.XXI., L'altro di Lattantio, et di vno Archideacono: Nel quale puntalmente si trattano le cose auenute in Roma nell' anno M.D.XXVII. Di Spagnuolo in Italiano con molta accuratezza et tradotti, et reuisti. In Venegia. *Con gratia, et privilegio* per anni dieci. Svo. Italic letter, 5 editions. And 1 ed. in Roman letter 1545
3. Dialogo de las Lenguas [written about 1533] in Gregorio Mayan's "Órignes de la lengua Española," Tom. II. Madrid, 12mo. 1737
- Dialogo de la Lengua (tenido ázia el A. 1533) i publicado por primera vez el año de 1737. Ahora reimpresso conforme al MS. de la Biblioteca Nazional, único que el Editor conoze. Por Apendize va una Carta de A. Valdés. Svo. Madrid. Año de 1860
4. Alfabeto Christiano che insegna la vera via d'acqvistare il l'vme dello spirito santo. Stampata con gratia et priuilegio. Sm. Svo. (Venegia) P'Anno 1546
- The same text reprinted, with a Spanish and English translation. (*Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*, T. xv.) Svo. London. 1861
- The same in English only. Svo. London. 1861
5. ¹ Modo di tenere nell' insegnare nel predicare al principio della religione Christiana. A tract of 13 leaves, mentioned by Vergerio in "Il Catalogo," printed before 1549. *Not discovered* 1546 ?
6. ¹ Qual maniera si dourebbe tenere in formare i figliuoli de Christiani nella christiana religione. 1 leaf; Vergerio. Printed before 1549. *Not discovered* 1546 ?
7. Le cento et dieci diuine Considerationi del S. Giouanni Valdesso: nelle quali si ragiona delle cose piu utili, piu necessarii, et piu perfette, della Christiana professione. 1 Cor. ii. Svo. In Basilea. 1550
- The same reprinted; "con Cenni biografici sui fratelli Giovanni e Alfonso Valdesso," and ample notes, Svo. Halle. 1861

¹ Curione, in one of his letters, accuses Vergerio of having taken a work of Valdés, translated it into Latin, and passed it off for his own, under the title of "Lac Spirituale." A copy of the Latin has been found in the Brunswick Library; it was translated into German and Polish.

Comparing it with Valdés' manner of writing, the style and method of treating the subject appear too dissimilar to be a translation from Valdés, at least in its present form, although it contains sentiments similar to his.

P. P. Vergerio translated a tract from the Italian into Latin, which he called *Lac spirituale*. It is in the manner of a catechism for the religious instruction of youth, and contains many coincidences with the known writings of Valdés. C. S. Curione said that the

Italian taken by Vergerio for his translation had been composed by Valdés, and that Vergerio used it without acknowledgment of its author. The Latin of Vergerio has been recently reprinted, with remarks by the learned Editor, F. Koldewey: *Lac spirituale, Institutio puerorum christianorum Vergeriana, edidit F. Koldewey, Brunsvigae, sumptibus Alfredi Bruhn*, 1864, Svo. pp. 32. The German version is in the University Library, Göttingen; the Polish translation has not been found.

If this be not the work of Valdés, it is clearly the production of a writer of his school.

The translation of Matthew, of the Psalms, and Letters on particular points of doctrine mentioned by himself, *Acharo*, and *Aviso sobre los Interpretes de la sagrada Escritura*, quoted by Llorente, appear to be irrecoverably lost.

- 1 — In French, 8vo. Lyons 1563
 — And 12mo. Paris. 1565
 — In Dutch. *Godsalighe Anmerckingen uyt het Italiansche overgeset.* A copy was in the library of Zach. Conrad Uffenbach at Frankfort. See *Biblioth. Uffenbach. Francof.* 1729. Tom. I. p. 914, No. 27. *Not discovered* ... 1565
 — In English. *The Hundred and Ten Considerations of Signor John Valdeso.* 4to. Oxford 1638
 And 12mo. Cambridge 1646. Another translation. 8vo. London 1865
Ziento i diez Consideraciones de Juan de Valdés. Ahora publicadas por primera vez en castellano. "Valdesio Hispanus Scriptorum superbiat orbis." 8vo. (*Ref. Ant. Esp.*, T. ix.) Año de 1855
Ziento i diez Consideraciones leidas i explicadas hazia el año de 1538 i 1539. POR JUAN DE VALDÉS, conforme a un MS. Castellano escrito el A. 1558, existente en la biblioteca de Hamburgo, i ahora publicado por vez primera con un facsimile. Valdesio Hispanus scriptore superbiat orbis. 8vo. (*Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*, T. xvi.) España. Año 1862
Ziento i diez Consideraciones de Juan de Valdés. Primera vez publicadas en Castellano el A. 1855. Por Luis de Usoz y Rio, i ahora corregidas nuevamente con mayor cuidado. roy. 8vo. (*Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*, T. xvii.) Año de 1863
 pp. xxxii. & 734. In addition to the text, this edition has various readings and an Appendix, 308 pages.
 8. Comentario, o declaracion breve, y compendiosa sobre la Epistola de S. Paulo Apostol a los Romanos, muy saludable para todo Christiano. Compvesto por Ivan Valdesio pio y sincero Theologo. Rom. I. En Venecia (Geneva), en casa de Juan Philadelpho. 8vo. 1556
 9. Comentario o declaracion familiar, y compendiosa sobre la primera Epistola de san Paulo Apostol a los Corinthios, muy vtil para todos los amadores dela piedad Christiana, compvesto por Ivan VV. pio y sincero Theologo. Psal. 119. En Venecia (Geneva), en casa de Juan Philadelpho. 8vo. ... 1557
 La Epistola de San Pablo a los Romanos i la I. a los Corintios. Ambas traducidas i comentadas por Juan de Valdés. Ahora fielmente reimpresas. "Valdesio Hispanus Scriptorum superbiat orbis." 8vo. (*Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*, T. x.-xi.) Año de 1856

¹ There are some copies of the French translation of *Le cento et dieci divine Considerazioni*, Lyons, 1563, which bear the date 1601; they are, however, only a spurious issue of that edition. They have the following title:—*Les Divines Considerations et saintes meditations de Jean de Val D'Esso, Gentilhomme Espaignol. Touchant tout ce qui est necessaire pour la perfection de la vie chrestienne.* Traduites par C. K. P. Reueués de nouveau, et rapportees fidelement à l'Exemplaire Espaignol [which is not true] et amplifiees de la table des principales matieres traitees par l'Aucteur. A Lyon. Par Pierre Picard, 1601. The title and the epistle of C. S. Curione in the edition of 1563, eight leaves being omitted, are replaced by a new title and preface of four leaves only, thus leaving a hiatus of eight

pages, and the three last leaves of Sig. Z are reprinted, in order to omit the colophon and date. A copy is found in the Wolfenbüttel Library, and in St. Sepulchre's, Marsh's Library, Dublin. Calvin remonstrated with the printer, Jean Agerolles, at Lyons, against the publication of the Considerations. He issued them, however, with various qualifying notes.

It may be conjectured that the affair of Carnesecchi, not long after the publication in which he was accused of having "treated" of the books of Valdés at Lyons, in 1564, may have alarmed the publisher, and induced him to withdraw the remaining copies from sale. They were kept in stock and reappeared in this spurious form after the lapse of thirty-eight years, and the death of the parties concerned.

The “Beneficio di Christo”—Benefit of Christ’s Death—a book now pretty well known by its modern reprints and the discussions, both in this country and abroad, which have endeavoured to determine the authorship of it, has been attributed to Juan de Valdés. It is very clear that the earliest opinions on the subject tend to support this impression.¹ Certain it is that there are passages in it textually similar to parts of the CX. CONSIDERATIONS. The inquisitors at Rome were intimately acquainted with the circumstances relating to productions of this class; they were active in discovering who were their individual authors; and we find, in the original process of the Inquisition against Carneseccchi, that before 1540 the book of the “Beneficio di Christo” is coupled with the writings of Juan de Valdés. It is there shown that Carneseccchi, coming from Naples in December, 1541, is accused of having discussed the “Beneficio” at Viterbo, with his friends there, who are known, on the occa-

¹ The *Benefit of Christ* by his sacrifice and death may be said to form the burden of the CX. Considerations from beginning to end. The opening page of the

“Considerations” and the “Beneficio” both use language so peculiar, and yet so much alike, that it may assist the reader to see them placed side by side here.

CX. CONSIDERATIONS.

Molte volte ho deliberato intender in che cosa propriamente consista quello che dice la santa scrittura, che l’uomo fu creato alla immagine e similitudine di Dio; . . . La immagine e similitudine di Dio intendo che consiste nel suo proprio essere, in quanto è impassibile ed immortale, e in quanto è benigno, misericordioso, giusto, fedele, e verace; . . . Questa immagine e similitudine di Dio intende che perdette il primo uomo per non ubbidir a Dio, e così rimase passibile e mortale, rimase malvaggio, crudele, impio, infedele, e bugiardo.

Edition 1550, edited by Dr. Ed. Böehmer, 1860.

BENEFICIO DI CHRISTO.

La Scrittura santa dice, che Dio creo l’ homo ad imagine e similitudine sua, facendolo quãto al corpo impassibile, e quanto all’ animo iusto, uerace, pio, misericordioso, e santo. Ma poi che egli uinto dalla cupidita del sapere, mangio di quel pomo proibito da Dio, perdette quella imagine e similitudine diuina, e diuento simile alle bestie, e al demonio, che l’ hauea ingannato, percioche inquanto all’ animo diuene ingiusto, mendace, e crudele, impio, e inimico di Dio, e inquanto al corpo diueto passibile, e soggetto a mille incomodi, e infirmita, ne solamente simile, ma anchora inferiore a gli animali bruti.

Edition 1543, edited by Dr. Babington, 1855. A. ii.

It is to be borne constantly in mind that Valdés being deceased in 1540, the allusions to this subject in the Considerations had been expressed in his assemblies several years before.

The Considerations XIII. and XXXIV. are written on this express subject. It is sprinkled, as it were, throughout Consid. XXXII. XL. LXV. LXXI. LXXV. LXXXVIII. XCIX. CVII. CX. The Beneficio di Christo is a favourite expression, to which his mind loved to recur, and with which the latest sentence of the Considerations concludes

. “la esperienza, la quale hanno solamente quelli che per dono di Dio e per *beneficio di Christo* hanno fede, speranza e carità, e così sono pii, santi e giusti in Christo”

In the Commentary on Romans, pp. 74, 87, 117, 119, 153; and it is treated of in the Commentary on 1 Cor. p. 74, where the term occurs six times in the page.

Dr. Böehmer, with his usual critical sagacity, makes these references to the similarity of the two works under consideration.

sion, to have been Marc Antonio Flaminio, Vittore Soranzo, Bishop of Bergamo, Apollonio Merenda, and Luigi Priuli. Laderchius, who drew his information from the process of the Inquisition against Carnesecchi, absolutely attributes the work to Valdés. The theory¹ respecting its author, in the Spanish point of view, is, that it had its origin at Naples in the same way as the "Considerations;" and it was simply in this manner:—Juan de Valdés, in his Sunday discourses, which we already have mentioned that he held with various friends in his country house at Chiaja, in Naples, occupying perhaps about ten Sundays calculating with reference to the *CX. Considerations*, communicated to them his meditations upon the subject of the benefit of Christ's death to Christians, its necessity and paramount utility; that having extremely gratified all his hearers, one of them, who might be Marc Antonio Magno, or Carnesecchi, or probably Benedetto Cusano, monk of San Severino, immediately took them down, in the same way that the Layman wrote down the sermons of Tauler, which have been transmitted to us; that this compilation was the *first treatise of the Benefit of Christ*, and which we owe to Valdés. And as it was a subject of paramount interest and fertile in suggestions for every sincere Christian, the consideration of it was natural; and some one, the ablest of those enlightened Italians whom the persuasive force of Valdés as a sanctified instrument attracted to the tranquil and profound love of the Gospel, might amplify with his own reflections. Thus Paleario, thus Flaminio in his sermons on the spiritual life, or any other of them who might afterwards compose or preach other addresses on the subject of the "*Benefit of Christ*," to which Valdés *first* called the attention of many of them, who were united in those sacred meetings, conducted without formularies, without liturgy, without creeds or human symbols, giving them to experience the sweetest hours of Christian liberty [see *Consid. XXXVI.*], surrounded by the enchantments of earth and sea, refreshed by the moisture and motion of the air fragrant with flowers, which disposed their minds to love and tranquil enjoyment; and who thus associated together, felt in their hearts the *benefit of Christ* still more than the benign influences of nature, which they tasted and rejoiced in.

To them his voice seem'd mellow'd to a sound
 More sweet than Virgil's on Italian ground;
 For every lesson, every turn he drew,
 Fell on the heart, and melted in like dew.

¹ Ziento i Diez Consideraciones. Año de M.DCCCLXIII. Apéndize, pp. 641-2.

CHAPTER VIII.

IN his national as well as his more strictly religious views, Juan de Valdés was, we think, one of the most advanced reformers of his time. If in a country there be no popularly constituted assembly, no recognized civil authority, to accredit and cherish individual freedom, and thereby prosper and uphold public usefulness; and if irresponsible rulers, led by political wiles, tread public honour and public usefulness under foot,—then the obligation devolves the more imperatively upon individuals to study the causes of such evils, and by public exposure of them to procure their remedy. This seems to have been what Juan de Valdés had principally in view in all the political portions of his works. In them he endeavours to promote a necessary reformation in points of faith and practice, because without this reformation every other remedy is illusory. He who does not examine what he believes, can never make any belief his own, or will never have any belief at all. Religion can neither be learnt nor gained, like other branches of knowledge; neither will a religion that is learnt and not inspired, ever produce a devoutness, which in its turn shall bring with it religious liberty, the only solid foundation of national political freedom. The recognition of the right and duty of personal religious conviction lies at the base of all social advancement. Without national piety and religious liberty, even that intellectual amelioration which creates that *material* prosperity to which man ought to aspire, will never be attained. It does appear that deductions like these occur to the student of Valdés without overstraining his expressions, and the reader will thus be led rightly to appreciate, by an elevated yet correct standard, the author and his writings.

The inviolability of religious liberty is brought out incontrovertibly by Juan de Valdés in the LXXVI. Consideration. He therein shows that religious persecution is the greatest of scandals or offences. He considers, in the first place, that it is impossible to live in this present life without giving offence, it being assumed that Christ himself gave offence, and was even called a stumbling-stone, because many stumbled at His humiliation and low estate. He says

that the "Saints of the world" in all ages stumbled at Christ, and at true Christians and their ways, just in proportion as these are more like to Christ. And he observes likewise, that the Saints of God are scandalized by the Saints of the world, in being falsely indoctrinated by them, in being persecuted by maltreatment, calumny, and death; and they are thus driven to separate themselves from the Gospel and Christ. He observes also, that the "Saints of the world" scandalize or offend each other; for it is matter for surprise if there be found one of them that approves of the manner of living of another, worldly sanctity consisting in ceremonies and superstitious observances. And from this, and from much more that Valdés brings under consideration, he finally deduces thirteen main propositions, which all issue in proving the inviolability of religious liberty, and the antichristian character of all persecution. In his comment on 1 Cor. xv. 9, he thus strongly condemns religious persecution:—"One thing is here worthy of remark—that St. Paul rested his unworthiness to be called an Apostle on the ground that he had persecuted the Church of God, although, as he himself elsewhere says, he had not been aware that he erred in so doing. This serves to show us what evil they do who persecute others, and more especially those who do so under the pretence of religion and piety; and that we should understand that there is nothing more foreign to a Christian mind than persecution. It is proper that the Christian suffer, and so far as this is proper to him so much is it *improper for him* to persecute another."

Valdés thought that every kind of religious persecution should be repugnant to our very nature. And it is better to have no profession at all than to have one that denaturalizes man; for grace perfects nature, but does not pervert and deprave it. It is a contradiction in terms to speak of being converted, meaning thereby, rendered so unnatural as to defend grace or religion by cruel and unequal laws; and to be exclusive in religion, putting force upon others, in order to compel them to be so, is to be irreligiously religious. How can a Christian be consistently intolerant? It is inconceivable. And still less is it conceivable how a Christian, be he whom he may, can believe himself empowered to defend that which he holds to be religion, and which he calls "the cause of God," with coercive power, persecuting his neighbour, because he professes a different religious creed from his own. "The cause of God" is well defended by Himself, without human codes and idle words. He alone searches and knows the hearts of men, and weighs

their actions, not according to the external forms of their worship, but according to their motives, secretly impelled, yet openly known and manifest to Him alone. Such were the sentiments of Valdés, although remaining in the bosom of a Church under the control of a persecuting hierarchy. But he could not have found, *had* he sought for it, the external form of *any* Church that was free from the like unhappy spirit.

In the LIV. Consideration Valdés explains the mental process he pursued in the formation of his own religious views :—“That prayer and consideration are two very sure books, or interpreters, for the understanding of Holy Scripture, and how a man ought to avail himself of them.” He concludes his familiar Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans by the same sentiment :—“This is what at present I can attain to, in the understanding of this divine epistle, having made use in it of my two books, which are Prayer and Consideration ; these have so much assisted me as Prayer has been aided by the Holy Spirit, and as much as Consideration has been assisted by my own experience and daily reading ; considering it certain that when the Spirit was most fervent and hope the greatest, the understanding of the words of St. Paul would be most perfect, being then most aided by Prayer and Consideration ; and I am also sure that a time will come when I shall understand all this much better, and then I will supply what is now wanting.” Thus he maintained his mind in a state of constant exercise and constant mental progress, his activity being tempered at the same time by a humility, of which he delighted to make a true confession. In a letter he wrote at a late period of his life, which Marc Antonio Magno has appended to the *Alfabeto Cristiano*, perhaps written to himself, he writes in the same strain, yet more at length :—

Whilst a man studies merely in the books of other men, he becomes acquainted with the minds of their authors, but not with his own. Now, as it belongs to a Christian's duty to know himself, to know the state of being that he possesses as a child of God through Christian regeneration, I am accustomed to say that a Christian's proper study should be in HIS OWN BOOK. This rightly understood, know, then, that I am accustomed to call my MIND MY BOOK ; because in this are contained my opinions, both false and true. In this I discover my confidence and my diffidence, my faith and my unbelief, my hope and my negligence, my charity and my enmity. In this also I find my humility and my presumption, my meekness and my impatience, my modesty and my arrogance, my simple-mindedness and my curiosity, my resolution against the world and my deference to it, my firmness against myself and my own self-love. In this is found whatever I possess of good by the favour of God and of Christ, and whatever evil I have acquired by my natural depravity. This

IS MY BOOK. In this I read at all hours and at all seasons, and there is no occupation whatever that interrupts this reading. Sometimes I occupy myself in examining the opinions I entertain upon Christian subjects—on what I base them, how I understand them, and how I feel them. At other times I set myself to examine what degree of confidence I have in the promises of God: how far I depend upon Him in all circumstances, and with what alacrity I put in practice what I know to be His will. I consider whether the Christian's faith has its efficacy within me, causing me to change my natural disposition; and whether the Christian life has made me change my former state and manners; because such alteration is Christian renovation and regeneration. I enter at other times into a very strict account with myself, examining how far I love God and Christ; whether I love Him more than myself; and how far I love my neighbours, and whether I love them as well as I love myself. If, then, I perceive that I am going forward, purely directed to the glory of God and of Christ, and to the spiritual and eternal good of my neighbours, I know that I go forward in love. This is the way I study in my OWN BOOK. The fruit I gain from such perusal is, that I arrive at a much better knowledge of what I am, and of what I am worth in myself, and what through God and through Christ; and so I arrive at a more intimate knowledge of the benefit to be received from Christ. And this is the consequence, that the more constantly I read in this my book, so much the more the life I have by the grace of God and of Christ grows within me, and that which I have as a son of Adam becomes less. When I wish to examine whether my opinions in the Christian faith are false or true, I go forward, comparing them with those which I read those holy men held who wrote the sacred Scriptures. Reading the holy faith of those Christians of the primitive Church, who were acknowledged to be justified and sanctified in Christ and by Christ, I know my own faith and my unbelief, and ask of God that He will increase my faith. Considering, also, the modest and simple manner in which Christian people lived at the first publication of the Gospel, having all things in common, and having no other thought than to know Christ crucified, I know my own modesty and simplicity, my arrogance and vain curiosity, and come to abhor all vanity, embracing simplicity of life. Finally, comparing my affections and appetites with those I read of in the Holy Scriptures, I know well how lively or how dead they are; and I desire to give them not a single day to live. In this manner Holy Scripture serves me the better to study MY OWN BOOK, and the better to understand it. In this manner I comprehend whether my Christian life and my Christian self-denial correspond well or ill, little or much, with my Christian faith and profession. Thus I become a gainer of two things: one is, that I do not estimate myself by the opinion men have of me, whether good or ill, but by that which I entertain myself, always referring myself to the opinion which God has of me; the other is, that I go on forming my mind, reducing it by the imitation of Christ and His saints to what I know to have been in Him and in them. I have said that MY BOOK IS MY MIND, and in the study of it, when I examine what I have in it, the benefit I draw from it is, to know myself, and to know God and Christ. The same belongs to this study which belongs to all others you can pursue; what at the first was dry and forbidding, when advanced to the middle becomes easy, and has some pleasantness in it, and in the end is most sweet and delicious. Besides, so much greater will be the enjoyment in this than in any other study, as the benefit resulting from it is greater, which you will find if you will make the trial.¹

¹ "In what manner the Christian fruit he would draw from the study of should study in his own book, and what it, and how the Holy Scriptures serve

With a masterly power over his whole moral nature, Valdés sought to apprehend truth through the just medium of feeling as well as reason. He brought an earnest affection for right wisdom to the bar of reason, and a well-regulated understanding, and tried it by the test of his experience and the declarations of the New Testament. When he found Scripture, experience, the heart and the understanding all concurring to elucidate the truth he sought to find, he delivered his mind to absolute trust in it, and at once gave it life by applying it to the conduct of life. This ought to remove the *objection* of mysticism from his writings and character; and the same reason should remove it, as a charge, from a body of Christians in the present day, who, in consequence of carrying out their reasonable religious convictions into daily practice, have not inaptly been styled the most *English of the English*; that is, the most practical, in these respects, of a nation eminently practical in all their purposes. And, after all, when more intimately considered, how can the religious relations, although clearly known to himself, between the spirit of a man and the Divine Spirit, in which relations the essential quality of real religion consists, be otherwise than mystical to others, who yet wear their own mystery, if they also have any essential religious sentiments?

To Valdés the internal word of inspiration was not mystical. He knew that the Word of God within—earnestly sought for, *patiently* believed in, and obediently complied with—was also the highest reason; and that its commands were practicable just in proportion to the degree of the reliance of faith reposed in them. The sacrifice offered by Abraham was as perfect and as practical as if he had actually slain that darling son, whom he was called upon by the Divine Word to offer up without reserve.

Neither did Valdés inculcate an ascetic life. He mixed with men and with their affairs, striving alike by his practice and instruction to direct them to a foretaste of that true felicity in this life which they might hope to enjoy perpetually hereafter; and in this also he was practical. In his Dialogue of the “Alfabeto Christiano” he endeavoured to inculcate in the mind of Giulia Gonzaga such purity of intention and thought, such sacrifice of the mere distinctions of rank and honour, such quiet endurance of injury, such a manner of beholding Christ in God, and again God in Christ, as clearly shows that the religion of Valdés, that which in

him as an interpreter or commentary.” to the “Alfabeto Christiano,” fol. 71-72
 A tract by Juan de Valdés, appended of the Italian.

every man should be truly his own, his religion of the heart, was indeed the practical religion of the New Testament. It was so in its spiritual meaning, in a sense more profound than the Apostles appear to have had during their Lord's ministry and presence whilst here upon earth, before His resurrection and ascension. And this brought Juan de Valdés to receive the doctrine of Justification by Faith, in an acceptation deeper and more intimate, although less demonstrative than that which Luther himself enunciated to reform Europe. This he taught to others in the manner of his Divine Master; in the dwelling-house, or walking by the way, or when, for those who had an ear to hear, he gave them to understand things of highest meaning by personal communication, explained by parables drawn from incidents familiar to their circumstances, and from objects within the range of their immediate observation. Vesuvius illustrated the *earthquakes* of mental agitation; the passage from the Mole to Capri, the effect of the steadiness of faith; the common journey from Naples to Spain, the travel of life; the disease of the skin, so well known in the earlier ages, that the cure of interior evils cannot be effected by outward services; the proverbs of the people, our conquest of ourselves; and that a successful lawsuit may be more damaging than its failure.

Juan Perez, Valdés' own countryman, who edited and published his Commentaries upon the Epistles to the Romans and 1 Corinthians,¹ thus describes his character and disposition:—"He was very learned, and was truly a Christian. He was a thorough gentleman, noble and wealthy, and made his true nobility not to consist in having *finer* blood than others, but in being an imitator of Christ, and in obeying the laws of Christian knighthood. He renounced worldly nobility, to pursue the spiritual nobility of the sons of God. He gave himself to the study of sacred letters. So diligent was he in its pursuit, and conducted it to so good and direct a purpose for the glory of the Lord, that He Himself assisted his understanding and greatly prospered his labours therein. Valdés did not by this study pretend to be wiser than those whom the world appreciates, but to be a Christian, one whom God approves. He was not a speculative theologian, but a practical one, who carried out what he understood. He did not aspire to be considered a

¹Juan Perez and his amanuensis Julian Hernandez were Andalusians. He has left signs of his provincial origin in the orthography of these Commen-

taries. Thus he generally uses the words *mucho*, *munchos*, for *mucho*, *muchos*.

literary man, but one who imbibed into his mind the habits of Christ, and to appear like Him in his own manner of life, as he exemplified in the course of it. He was not a man who kept the understanding alone instructed, but he also held his will subjected and enamoured of the truth of what he understood. Thus he gained the title of a wise man, not, however, amongst those who were enchanted with their own opinions, but amongst those who were known of God. He suffered great troubles whilst he lived, in order to follow the footsteps of Christ; the world treated him as the world usually treats those who take into their bosoms the obedience and love of the truth. Valdés followed his Lord and obeyed Him to the end of his days. . . . It appears that Divine Goodness gave His faithful servant Valdés to the nobility and gentry of his nation to be as a glass, in which they might see and learn, to appreciate how to be truly noble *hidalgos* of that nobility which ends not in this life; that they might view in him that generous knight (*caballero*) who, in order to follow Christ, gave up his own nobility and renounced all for Him."¹

Valdés, as a reformer, entered less than almost any thoughtful man of his time into the battle of hierarchies. He was less a destroyer of error and evil, than a builder-up of truth and goodness. He left not himself the profession of the Church of Rome, nor incited others so to do. This was no part of his religion. He looked beyond her ceremonies and pompous ritual. Taking the New Testament for his standard, he fixed his view upon the things signified, not upon the symbols exhibited, being aware, to use his own words, how "outward ceremonies breed inward vices," and how the mind which is inclined to superstition is naturally inclined to persecution. The penetrating discrimination of his mind when applied to his religious inquiries, frequently amounted to a moral anatomy of motives. Yet he made not theology, that is a doctrinal science of religion, his study, and therefore had not, in his more enlightened years, to unlearn the sophistical formulas of the schools. He had the advantage of not having been brought up a priest, and was therefore not called upon to perform ceremonies in which he had no reliance. Had he been a priest, his conscience, like Martyr's and Ochino's, could not have allowed him to practise the rites in the sense in which the people received them; and his principles brought to this

¹ "La Epistola de San Pablo a los Romanos, i la I. a los Corintios," &c. Año de 1856. Al Lector, pp. 27-29. (*Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*, T. x.-xi.)

test must have driven him to a more definite decision respecting them.

The works written during the later years of his life ; viz., the "Alfabeto Christiano," the "Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans," "On the 1st of Corinthians," and the "Hundred and Ten Considerations," a series of separate productions, have all four a uniformity of character, of consistency, and of religious purity ; and all of them are conceived in the same tone of humility and modesty, and in a truly evangelical spirit. The style of all manifests a mind serene, quiet, and self-possessed ; which, while it is highly active and progressive, is ever subjected to the authority of the Scriptures. The understanding and reason are found always guided by the *royal law* of which the Apostle James speaks ; they are vigilant over the passions and affections. There is nothing in them showing inconsideration, hesitation, or impatience ; nothing assuming or dogmatic.

The feature of Valdés' mind that strikes us as the most singular for one born and nurtured in a southern clime, and amongst an imaginative people, is its argumentative and logical structure. He endeavours in all he writes to prove his position by strict though not formal reasoning, and whenever his thoughts assume a playful turn, they take the form of wit rather than of fancy. He seemed to possess more of the Saxon or Teutonic element than is common to his countrymen : this is shown in its practical character, in its love of rational liberty, in its love of religious freedom, and in its exemption from superstition, the thrall of a tyrannous imagination applied to religion.

In person, Valdés was spare in body, of fair and pleasing countenance, of sweet and courteous manners, of soft and winning speech, clear and logical in discourse, active, and diligently studious. He was unmarried and of unblemished life. He died at Naples, about middle age, in the year 1540, greatly beloved and honoured by his numerous friends, whose sentiments are represented in the well-known letter of Jacomo Bonfadio to Carneseccchi, written shortly after the event.¹

JACOMO BONFADIO TO MONSIGNOR CARNESECCHI.

I have heard by letter from M. Marc' Antonio Flaminio that your lordship has had a very severe fever, which has brought you near to death, and that now you are not out of bed, although you are out of danger. I have felt, as I ought, the greatest uneasiness ; and reflecting in myself how temperate you are in all things, and with what regularity you order

¹"Lettere volgari di diversi nobilissimi letter of Bonfadio appeared in the first Huomini," Vinegia, 1544, fol. 32. The ed. 1542.

your way of living, I can discover no other cause for your sickness than too fine a temperament, which shows its spirit to be divine. As the Romans preserved those statues which fell from the skies, may God preserve your lordship's life ; and He will do it, so that one of the brightest lights of Tuscan virtue may not be early extinguished upon earth. Let your lordship, then, under the direction of God, endeavour to improve your health, and to live with that cheerfulness with which you were accustomed when we were at Naples. Would that we were there now with that happy company ! I seem now to see you affectionately sigh for that country, and frequently call to your mind Chiaja and the charming Posilippo. Monsignor, let us confess the truth, Florence is all beautiful within and without—this cannot be denied ; yet the amenity of Naples, that situation, those shores, the perpetual spring there, show a higher degree of excellence. There nature appears to rule with unlimited sway, and everywhere presiding, smiles and rejoices. If you were now at the window of that turret, so often praised by us, while the eyes were cast by turns all around those sunny gardens, and then stretched along the spacious bosom of that smiling sea, a thousand vital spirits would multiply about the heart. I remember your lordship said many times before leaving that you wished to return, and as often invited me there. May it please God that we may return. Yet, thinking on the other side, where shall we go now Signor Valdés is dead ? This has truly been a great loss for us and the world, for Signor Valdés was one of the rare men of Europe, and those writings he has left on the Epistles of Paul and the Psalms of David most amply show it. He was, without doubt, in his actions, his speech, and in all his conduct a perfect man. With a particle of his soul he governed his frail and spare body ; with the larger part, and with his pure understanding, as though almost out of the body, he was always raised in the contemplation of truth and of divine things. I sympathize with Messer Marc' Antonio [Magno ?], for he loved and admired him above all others. It seems to me, Signor, that when so many talents and so much learning and virtue are united in one mind, they make war upon the body, and seek to ascend as soon as they can together with the spirit, to that mansion from which it descended ; therefore it causes me no regret to have so few, for I might sometimes fear lest they should mutiny and leave me on earth like a fool. I would fain live if I could, and I exhort your lordship to do the same. Farewell. May our Lord give you that prosperity in life which you may desire.—From the Lago di Garda. (1541 ?)

The remembrance of Valdés inspired the tone of this charming letter, which, although frequently quoted, never loses its freshness or becomes familiar ; like a strain of delightful and pensive music, that recurs with ever returning pleasure, because it has tempered the inward spirit to the charm of a divine melody arising within itself. The religious writings of Valdés, when they are apprehended and felt, bring the thoughts of the reader, in the same manner, within the compass of the quiet and well-adjusted harmony of his own tranquil and pervading mind, directed as it was by what may be called the essentially poetic sentiment and experience of the Life divine.

BENJAMIN B. WIFFEN.

NEAR WOBURN :
4th month, 1865.

TITLES OF THE EDITIONS OF THE
CX. CONSIDERATIONS.

1	TITLE OF THE ITALIAN	BASILEA.....	1550
2	..... OF THE ITALIAN	HALLE	1860
3	..... OF THE FRENCH	LYON	1563
4	..... OF THE FRENCH	PARIS.....	1565
5	..... SPURIOUS	LYON	1601
6	..... OF THE ENGLISH	OXFORD	1638
7	..... OF THE ENGLISH	CAMBRIDGE	1646
8	..... OF THE ENGLISH	LONDON.....	1865
9	..... OF THE SPANISH .....	.....	1855
10	..... OF THE SPANISH	LONDRES	1863
11	..... OF THE SPANISH, FROM THE MS. OF 1558, IN THE CITY LIBRARY, HAMBURGH. ESPAÑA .....	.....	1862
12	..... OF THE SPANISH MS. IN THE CITY LIBRARY, HAMBURGH .....	.....	1558
13	..... OF THE DUTCH	<i>Not discovered</i> ...	1565

[1]

Le cento & diecidi
 uine Considerationi del S.
 Giouāni Valdeffo: nelle qua-
 li si ragiona delle cose piu uti-
 li, piu necessarie, & piu perfet-
 te, della Christiana
 professione.

I. Cor. II.

*Noi vi ragionamo della perfetta sa-
 pientia, non della sapientia di questo
 mondo, &c.*

In Basilea, M. D. L.

LE CENTO E DIECI

DIVINE CONSIDERAZIONI

DI

GIOVANNI VALDESSO.

HALLE IN SASSONIA.

MDCCCLX.

[3]

C E N T

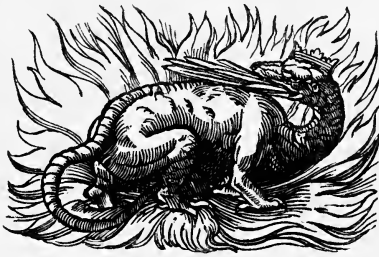
ET DIX CON-
SYDERATIONS
DIVINES DE IAN

DE VAL D'ESSO,

*Traduites premierement, d'Espai-
nol en langue Italienne, & de nou-
veau mises en François, par*

C. K. P.

Durer, mourir,



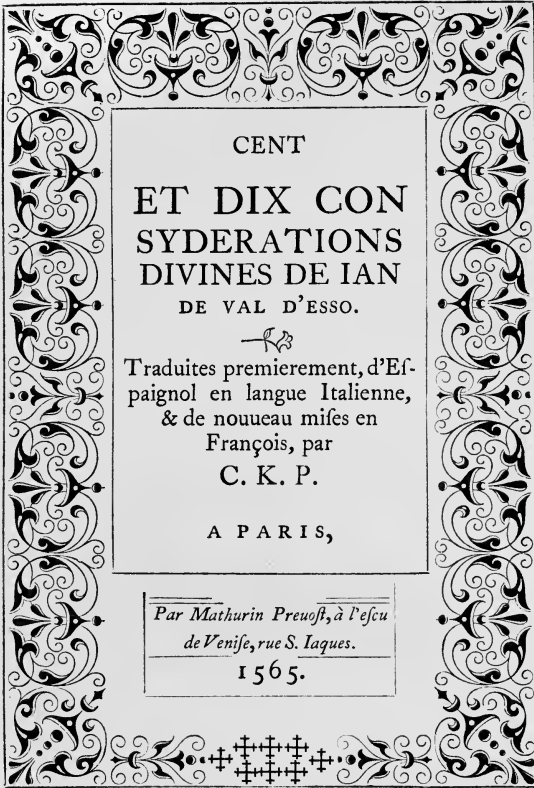
& non perir.

A LYON,

Par Claude Senneton,

M. D. LXIII.

[4]



[5]

*Spurious title in some copies of the edition of
Lyon of the year 1563.*

LES DIVINES
CONSIDERATIONS,
ET SAINCTES MEDITATIONS
DE IEAN DE VAL D'ESSO
Gentil-homme Espagnol.



Touchant tout ce qui est necessaire, pour la per-
fection de la vie Chrestienne.

Traduittes par C. K. P.

*Reueuës de nouveau, & rapportees fidelement à l'Exemplaire
Espagnol, & amplifiees de la Table des prin-
cipales matieres traitees par l'Auteur.*



A LYON,
Par Pierre Picard.

1601.

THE HUNDRED AND TEN
CONSIDERATIONS
OF SIGNIOR
JOHN VALDESSO:

TREATING OF THOSE
things which are most profitable, most
necessary, and most perfect in our
Christian Profession.

WRITTEN IN SPANISH

Brought out of Italy by *Vergerius*, and
first set forth in Italian at *Basil* by
Cælius Secundus Curio,

ANNO 1550.

Afterward translated into French, and Printed
at *Lions* 1563. and again at *Paris* 1565.

And now translated out of the Italian
Copy into English, with Notes.

Whereunto is added an Epistle of the Authors,
or a Preface to his Divine Commentary
upon the Romans.

I. COR. 2.

*Howbeit we speak wisdom amongst them that are per-
fect, yet not the wisdom of this world.*

OXFORD,

Printed by LEONARD LICHFIELD, Printer
to the Vniversity. *Ann. Dom.* 1638.

[7]

DIVINE
CONSIDERATIONS

Treating
*Of those things which are most profi-
table, most necessary, and most
perfect in our Christian
Profession.*

By
JOHN VALDESSO.

I. COR. 2. 6.

*Howbeit we speak wisdom amongst them
that are perfect; yet not the wisdom of
this world.*

CAMBRIDGE:

Printed for *E. D.* by *Roger Daniel*, Printer
to the Univerfity. 1646.

187

LIFE AND WRITINGS [8]

OF

JUÁN DE VALDÉS,

otherwise Valdesso,

SPANISH REFORMER IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY,

BY

BENJAMIN B. WIFFEN.

WITH

A Translation from the Italian

OF HIS

Hundred and Ten Considerations,

BY

JOHN T. BETTS.

VALDESIO HISPANUS SCRIPTORE SUPERBLAT ORBIS.

Daniel Rogers.

NON MORITURA.—*Giulia Gonzaga's Motto*, p. 112.



LONDON:

BERNARD QUARITCH, 15 PICCADILLY.

1865.

[9]

ZIENTO I DIEZ
CONSIDERAZIONES

DE

JUÁN DE VALDÉS.

Ahora publicadas por primera vez en castellano,

VALDESSIO HISPANUS SCRIPTORE SUPERBIAT ORBIS
(Dan. Roger. Epigr. in tum. Juelli. Humphr.
Vita Juell. 4to. 1573.)

AÑO DE MDCCCLV.

ZIENTO I DIEZ CONSIDERAZIONES

DE

JUÁN DE VALDÉS.

PRIMERA VEZ PUBLICADAS EN CASTELLANO, EL A. 1855

POR

LUIS DE USÓZ I RIO

I

AHORA CORREJIDAS NUEVAMENTE CON MAYÓR CUIDADO.

"VALDESIO HISPANUS SCRIPTORE SUPERBIAT ORBIS."

*Dan. Roger. Epigr. in tum. Juellii Humphr.
Vita Jucl. 4to. 1573.*

AÑO DE MDCCCLXIII.

[11]

ZIENTO I DIEZ CONSIDERAZIONES
LEIDAS I EXPLICADAS HÁZIA EL
AÑO DE 1538 I 1539.

POR JUÁN DE VALDÉS.

CONFORME A UN MS. CASTELLANO

ESCRITO EL A. 1558

EXISTENTE EN LA BIBLIOTECA DE HAMBURGO,

I ahora publicado por vez primera
con un facsímile.

VALDESIO HISPANUS SCRIPTORE SUPERBIAT ORBIS.

ESPAÑA. AÑO MDCCCLXII.

[12]

TITLE AND COLOPHON OF THE SPANISH
 MANUSCRIPT *in the City Library of Ham-*
burg, written in 1558, printed in 1862.
See N° 11.

¶ *las ciento e diez consideraçiones del Valdes,*
Traduzidas del ytaliano en Romance.

Fin de las ciento y diez Considera
çiones que se acabaron de trasladar en
xxiiij de noujembre Año de MDLVIIj.

A gloria de Dios y del hijo de
Dios Jesu Xpo. n. s.

[13]

THE DUTCH TRANSLATION [BY ADRIAN HAMSTEED?] 1565
HAS NOT BEEN DISCOVERED. THERE WAS A COPY IN THE
LIBRARY OF ZACH. CONRAD UFFENBACH, FRANKFORT, IN
1729. IT IS ENTERED IN THE PRINTED CATALOGUE.

27. *Jo Valdesii Godsalige Anmerckingen uyt het
Italiansche overgeset* (o) 1565 : 45.

JUÁN DE VALDÉS.

PART II.

LONDON
PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO.
NEW-STREET SQUARE

THE HUNDRED AND TEN CONSIDERATIONS

OF

JUÁN DE VALDÉS.

Translated from the Italian

BY

JOHN T. BETTS.





PREFACE.

THAT the English versions of the 'CX. Divine Considerations' of Juan de Valdés have become rare; that they are seldom attainable by purchase; that they are but occasionally to be found in private hands, and that a sight of them is only to be ensured by a visit to the British Museum or our University libraries; and that they are, besides, antiquated in style and unnecessarily obscure;—these circumstances serve as plea and warrant for the present republication of them in a modern translation.

That these Divine Considerations still continue to be highly prized by the pious and learned of other countries is proved by the recent republication and retranslation of the work into the language in which it was written. The Italian version of 1550, the *editio princeps*, has been recently republished by Dr. Ed. Boehmer, of Halle; and there is a recent retranslation of it into Spanish, which has appeared in a handsome edition; Professor Schmidt, of Strasburg, has also retranslated it into French, although not yet printed; whilst there is a German retranslation of it in progress, if it be not already finished.

Of the English version, the first edition appeared at Oxford in 1638, in 4to; another was published at Cambridge in 1646, in 12mo. Nicholas Ferrar, the translator, forwarded his MS. to his friend George Herbert, of Bemerton, for his opinion and advice as to its publication. Herbert, having annotated it, returned it to Ferrar with the following

excellent letter, which was prefixed to the first edition, and the reader will regard it as the most interesting and striking indication of the character of the work that could be offered.

“GEORGE HERBERT TO HIS FRIEND NICHOLAS FERRAR.

“MY DEARE AND DESERVING BROTHER,

“Your Valdesso I now returne with many thanks, and some notes, in which perhaps you will discover some care, which I forbare not in the midst of my griefes: first for yoursake, because I would doe nothing negligently that you commit unto mee; secondly for the Author’s sake, whom I conceive to have been a true servant of God; and to such, and all that is theirs, I owe diligence; thirdly for the Churches sake, to whom by printing it I would have you consecrate it. You owe the Church a debt, and God hath put this into your hands (as he sent the fish with mony to S. Peter) to discharge it: happily also with this (as his thoughts are fruitfull) intending the honour of his servant the Author, who being obscured in his own country he would have to flourish in this land of light, and region of the Gospell, among his chosen. It is true there are some things which I like not in him, as my fragments will expresse, when you read them; neverthelesse I wish you by all means to publish it, for these three eminent things observable therein: First, that God in the midst of Popery should open the eyes of one to understand and expresse so clearely and excellently the intent of the Gospell in the acceptation of Christ’s righteousnesse (as he sheweth through all his Considerations), a thing strangely buried, and darkened by the Adversaries, and their great stumbling-block. Secondly, the great honour and reverence, which he everywhere beares towards our deare Master and Lord, concluding every Consideration almost with his holy Name, and setting his merit forth so piously, for which I doe so love him, that were there nothing else, I would print it, that with it the honour of my Lord might be published. Thirdly, the many pious rules of

ordering our life, about mortification, and observation of God's kingdom within us, and the working thereof, of which he was a very diligent observer. These three things are very eminent in the Author, and overweigh the defects (as I conceive) towards the publishing thereof, etc.

“GEORGE HERBERT.

BEMERTON: *Sept.* 29 [1637].”

Dr. Boehmer, who has been so variedly and so long engaged upon Valdés' works, and who has recently become his biographer in *Herzog's Real Encyklopaedie*, prompted by veneration for our author, and knowing that the English translation of Valdés' CX. Considerations was in progress, wrote to the translator, and advised him 'to make it as simple in mode of expression as it is in the original, unabbreviated and unchanged,' and this advice has been studiously carried out; so that, without obtruding his own ideas, the translator has endeavoured to render those of Valdés as faithfully as Valdés did those of St. Paul. In Valdés' letter of dedication to Giulia Gonzaga, prefixed to his translation of, and commentary upon, the Epistle to the Romans, he says: 'I have desired to keep to the letter of the text, rendering it word for word as much as possible; for wherever I found ambiguity in the Greek text, I left it in the Spanish—that is to say, I did so wherever the text was as susceptible of one mode of apprehension as of another. I have done this, because in translating St. Paul it has not been my aim to write my own conceptions, but those of St. Paul.'

My friend Benjamin B. Wiffen, who is well known for his successful researches in connexion with the writings and life of Valdés, and who has assisted to bring to light various of his works supposed by distinguished scholars to have been utterly destroyed and lost—such, for instance, as Valdés' 'Alfabeto Christiano'—has now, in the history of 'The Life and Writings of Juan de Valdés' which is prefixed to this translation of the CX. Divine Considerations, given extracts from his writings sufficiently copious to enable the general reader

to form a conception of the scope and character of works which cannot be easily obtained for perusal, because, though reprinted, this has chiefly been done not for the public at large, but in order to rescue them from total oblivion, by means of private circulation, and preservation in libraries.

These works of Valdesso are, to use Milton's expression, 'the precious life-blood of a master-spirit,'—of an apostle, as it were, to the aristocracy of birth and intellect of his day; whom the Inquisition and the Roman Court feared and hated as an heresiarch, but who was acknowledged and honoured of the Holy Spirit to be the Father in Christ (1 Cor. iv. 15) of such personages as Giulia Gonzaga and Vittoria Colonna, of Peter Martyr Vermiglio and of Galeazzo Caraccioli.

Peter Martyr Vermiglio, as Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, appointed by Cranmer interpreter of Holy Scripture, began his career at the University by expounding the First Epistle to the Corinthians—a book upon which Juan de Valdés had written a commentary—doing so, as Josiah Simler says, 'because therein are handled divers and many principal matters which served for the controversies of the time, in such sort that the doctrine of this epistle, if it be profitably and aptly read, may cure all the faults wherewith the sincerity of the Church is corrupted.'

At the death of Edward VI., Peter Martyr Vermiglio, to escape the persecution of Mary, had to fly England, and filled Protestant chairs both at Strasburg and Zurich; his friend and pupil, Bishop Jewel, sought safety in exile likewise, and during many years was received as a member in Peter Martyr's household, living at his table.

The Zurich letters witness with what reverence both Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Jewel held Peter Martyr as the master-spirit in Israel; and can it be otherwise than deeply interesting to the English reader to study the sentiments of Juan de Valdés, who moulded the mind, in Evangelical doctrine, of Peter Martyr, the arch-counsellor of the recognised founders of the English Church?

JOHN T. BETTS.

THE ITALIAN EDITOR'S LETTER
'TO CHRISTIAN READERS.'

Celio Secondo Curione, a servant of Jesus Christ, to all those who are sanctified by God the Father, and saved and called by Jesus Christ our Lord; mercy, peace, and the love of God be multiplied to you.

Behold, brethren, we do not here present you Boccaccio's *Cento Novelle*, but the *Hundred and Ten Considerations of Valdés*, the importance of which I am about to declare to you. Many, both ancients and moderns, have written upon Christian topics, and some of them have done so better than others; but it would possibly be difficult to find out the man who, since the days of our Lord's Apostles and Evangelists, has written better, more soundly, and more divinely than Juan Valdés. Certain it is that some of them have left great books, both ponderous and numerous; but there are amongst them many that are but of little importance, not much calculated to promote Christian life, but charged with unprofitable questions and philosophic disputations, from which thousands of inconveniences have sprung up in Christ's Church. And in order that it may be seen that what I say is true, I will here set forth some of those inconveniences, from which an estimate may easily be formed of the rest. Then, in the first place, because they have written such very great books, they have not been able to avoid lies, follies, and vanity; for as the wise man says (*Eccles. v. 7*), 'Where there are many words there are also divers vanities.' Then these great writers have dragged all Scripture into doubt and disputation,

and have instituted a school where everything is called in question to such an extent that they have brought the doctrine of the Son of God and of His Apostles, and the infallible and most certain hope of eternal life, into utter uncertainty. But amongst the other inconveniences of which I am about to speak, this is not the least important: with their very extensive and almost infinite number of books, men have been led aside and alienated from the study of the truly Holy Scriptures, and from the contemplation of the simple truth; and they have converted disciples of Christ into disciples of men; and to such a pass are we come that greater and more implicit faith is given to those who are styled doctors, than to the simple doctrine of Christ, just as if Christ and His Apostles were not the true and eternal doctors and masters of the Church. This forsooth is the benefit, this the edification, which redounds to the Church of God from these huge volumes!

Our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom the salvation of His Church has been more dear than His own life, seeing this, has stirred up and awakened some, and has opened their eyes, who should by gentle stages bring back His sheep to the verdant and wholesome pastures of the Holy Scriptures, and to the pure, clear, and sweet fountains of the word of God. Here each one has striven according to the talent, that is to say, the gift received; but it appears to me, and I hope that it will so appear to all who have a true taste of the doctrine of Christ, that this our author, in these his Divine Considerations, and in some other of his writings, has so well considered the duties of the Christian, and has enabled us all to do the same, that but very few can go beyond him. He, indeed, has not written such great volumes, nor such worthless ones, but his are small and few; they are, moreover, pure, clear, and truly divine. Many have written on the virtues, habits, and duties of a wise and good man, as Aristotle, Panætius, and Cicero, and amongst Christians Ambrose, and in this

age Tommaso Venatorio;¹ but no one of them has soared in his writings to such a height, nor demonstrated so powerfully, nor reasoned so sweetly, nor with such majesty, nor with such authority, nor with such grace, as our Valdés.

This, this is truly worthy to be called the book of Christian duties, the book of Christian demonstrations, and of truly divine speculations. It shows the origin, cause, progress, and end of every movement, of every action, of every event that is done under heaven, whether of God or of the devil, whether of the pious man or the impious, and all these from clear, certain, and undoubted Scriptural principles, accompanied by such beautiful and appropriate examples, similitudes, comparisons, divisions, and definitions, that unless we are extravagantly obstinate, and destitute of common sense, we must needs acquiesce in what it represents as being due to God, to self, and to our neighbour, and how great is the benefit of Christ, and what the advantage derivable from Christ's weakness and power, His humiliation and exaltation, our mortification and vivication, election and reprobation, and a thousand other beautiful and useful topics which admit of clear apprehension; so that by being conversant with this book you will better understand all vital Scriptural truths, than by means of the grand and ponderous commentaries of many authors.

But for bringing to our knowledge and into our possession this great and heavenly treasure, we are all indebted to Maestro Pietro Paolo Vergerio, who was, in the course of Divine Providence, instrumental in causing it to be printed. Coming from Italy, and leaving a feigned bishopric to come to the true Apostolate to which he was called by Christ, he brought with him many beautiful compositions, and did as men are wont to do when either their own home is burnt down, or

¹ *Thomæ Venatorii de Virtute Christiana libri III. Præterea Index additus, præcipuas sententias complectens. Norinbergæ. M.D.XXIX. 414 pp.*

Axiomata quædam rerum Christianarum, Thomæ Venatorii, Ministri pauperum Norenbergæ. Anno. M.D.XXVI. 8 leaves.

when a town is sacked or destroyed, for then everyone escapes, with whatever in his house he prizes as dearest and most precious; so our Vergerio, holding nothing so dear as the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, brought with him those things which might serve to illustrate and extend it. He left, therefore, his earthly treasures, and bore away with him the celestial and divine, amongst which this is one of the most beautiful and rare that can be imagined. And knowing that good and excellent things are so much the greater, better, and praiseworthy, in proportion as they are communicated to a greater number of persons, he left with me these 'One Hundred and Ten Considerations' in order that I might get them printed, which I have done, as you see, with all the diligence in my power. These Considerations, as is known to many, were originally written by the author in Spanish, and afterwards translated by a pious and worthy person into Italian, and hence it is that they are not wholly divested of the Spanish idiom peculiar to them; and there are moreover still some words of the author's vernacular, although they are but few.

For Juan Valdés was by birth a Spaniard; of a noble family, of honourable station, and a splendid knight in the service of the Emperor, but of much higher rank and much more splendid as a knight of Christ. He was not, therefore, very assiduous as a courtier after Christ had been revealed to him, but remained in Naples, where, by suavity of doctrine and holiness of life, he gained over many disciples to Christ, especially amongst gentlemen and cavaliers, and some gentlewomen, most praiseworthy and exalted in all that could challenge praise. It seemed as if he had been appointed by God as the instructor and pastor of noble and illustrious persons: although his benignity and charity were such that he surrendered his pleasure to every mean, low, and rude person, and made himself all things to all men in order to gain over all to Christ. (Rom i. ; 1 Cor. ix.) And not only

this, but he has enlightened some of the most renowned Italian preachers, which I know from having conversed with them. He never married, but his continence was such that it was never called in question ; whilst he was, to the best of his ability, assiduously intent upon real mortification ; in which, when death found him, he was perfectly mortified, to be afterwards perfectly vivified at the resurrection of the just, and to rejoice in it with Christ our Lord. He died in Naples about the year 1540.

He has also left some other excellent and pious compositions, which, as I hope, will, through Vergerio's help, be communicated to you. Come, then, brothers and sisters in the love of God and in the precious blood of Jesus Christ, take this treasure, and attach no importance to the mere possession of it, but cherish it for the use and the fruit that is to be gathered from it. He has not considered these beautiful things for the sake of providing food for the imagination only, but to put that which he had considered and resolved into practice. We must needs have knowledge, but it is also necessary to combine practice with it ; for all the praise due to every virtue and art consists in exercise and in actions adapted to the particular virtue and art. And you who spend all your time unprofitably in reading the *Cento Novelle* of Boccacio and similar authors, lay them aside for a while, and read these *Considerations of Valdés*, which are truly novels ; for they treat of that great, divine, and joyful novel of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, of the great pardon of sins, of reconciliation with God, made by the death of God's Son. Here you will find the true and holy love of God and of Christ to the human race ; here you will learn the true embraces and the true kisses given by the Holy Spirit ; and here, finally, you will learn what are the true delights and pleasures of souls enamoured of God and of Christ, and disenamoured of the world.

And if the language do not appear to you so polished and

elegant as that of Boccaccio, remember what Paul, that great Apostle of Jesus Christ, says in 1 Cor. iv. 20, 'The kingdom of God consists in power' of the Spirit and not in elegance of diction. Not that this style of speaking is to be despised; on the contrary, I find it very appropriate and excellent, with reference to what it desires to express, which is the prime merit of an author.

But here I conclude my discourse, not to detain you any longer from the sacred perusal of these Divine Considerations; in reading which, you will yourselves diligently consider them, with prayer to God for me and for all, that we may all be enamoured of Christ and be incorporated with Him, just as He is incorporated with us,—to whom be all honour and glory eternally.

BASLE, in the year MDL. the first of May.

CONSIDERATION I.

How it is to be understood that man was created in the
Image and Likeness of God.

OFTENTIMES have I studied to understand in what that Image and Likeness of God properly consists of which the Sacred Scriptures speak, when they declare that man was created in the image and likeness of God. So long as I strove to understand it by consulting authors, I made no advance towards its apprehension, because I was led by reading, at one time to entertain one opinion, and at another time another ; until, gaining the conception of it by reflection, it appeared to me that I apprehended it, or at least that I began to do so ; and I feel certain that the same God who has given me the knowledge I possess, will give me that which I still want.

I understand the Image and Likeness of God to consist in His own peculiar Being, involving His impassibility and eternity, as likewise His benignity, mercy, justice, faithfulness, and truth. I understand that God created man in the terrestrial paradise with these qualities and perfections, where, prior to his disobedience to God, he was impassible and immortal—he was good, merciful, just, faithful, and true.

As I understand, the first man lost this image and likeness to God by disobedience to God, and

so he became passible and mortal—he became malevolent, cruel, impious, faithless, and mendacious.

After I understood this by reflection, desiring to compare it with Holy Scripture, I find that it coincides admirably with what St. Paul says in Eph. iv. 22-24, Col. iii. 5-9 ; and thus I am so much the more confirmed in my conclusion.

And proceeding still further, I understand that this image of God was in the person of Christ, as far as His *soul* was involved, prior to His death, whence He was benign, merciful, just, faithful, and true ; and with reference to soul and body, after His resurrection, inasmuch as He now possesses, in addition to benignity, mercy, justice, faithfulness, and truth, both immortality and impassibility.

Moreover, I understand that they who, being called and drawn by God to the grace of the Gospel, make Christ's righteousness their own, and are incorporated into Christ, recover in this present life that part of the image of God which relates to the *soul*, and in eternal life recover also that part which relates to the body ; and thus we shall all, through Christ, come to be like God, as Christ is ; each one in his degree—Christ as the head, and we as the members.

And it will truly be the greatest felicity to see in men, goodness, mercy, justice, faithfulness, and truth ; and to see them likewise impassible and immortal—to see them very like Christ, and to see them very like God : and to see that the glory of God increases with this happiness of man, and that the glory of the Son of God is thereby promoted also, through whom we shall all confess that we have attained our happiness, all recognising as our Head the self-same Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION II.

That the happiness of man consists in knowing God, and
that we cannot know God unless we first know Christ.

MANY have laboured much, desiring to understand in what man's happiness properly consists; and having striven to do so as men, by human intellect, they have all erred in their imaginations, as they are wont to err in almost everything, the knowledge of which is sought through the same channel. That which I say so many have laboured anxiously to understand, our Lord Jesus Christ teaches in these words: *Haec est vita aeterna ut cognoscant te verum Deum solum et quem misisti Jesus Christum* (Jo. xvii. 3). 'This is life eternal, to know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent:' as if He had said, men's happiness consists in this, that they know God and Christ. But though Christ teaches this, they alone understand it who cease to be men—that is to say, who lay aside the image of Adam and put on the image of Christ—because these alone know Christ, and only in Christ and through Christ do they know God.

Truly, men attain, whilst but men, to a certain knowledge of God, by contemplation of the creature, but they do not realise happiness by this knowledge; for in truth happiness is not involved in it, but consists only in that knowledge of God which they

alone acquire who have ceased to be (mere) men, and being incorporated into Christ know God, by first knowing Christ. And I understand that the reading of Holy Scripture and the contemplation of the creature serve to increase and augment in them that knowledge of God which involves happiness and eternal life.

The knowledge which they acquire of God who know Him through the creature, I conceive to be similar to that knowledge which an inferior artist acquires of a consummate painter by looking at his paintings; and the knowledge which they acquire of God who know Him through the Holy Scriptures, I conceive to be similar to that which an ignoramus, or an unlettered man, acquires of a highly celebrated author by reading his works. And the knowledge which they who know Christ, and are incorporated into Christ, have of God, I conceive to be similar to the knowledge which I have of a monarch through the sight of his portrait, and through an exceedingly minute account of all his habits, by the report of individuals who are upon very intimate terms with the monarch. I conceive that they who know God after this fashion, in reading the Scriptures, know Him as a learned man knows a great author—by reading his works. And I conceive that these very same individuals, in contemplating the creature, know God as a good painter knows a perfect artist—by studying his paintings.

Having apprehended thus much, I understand in what man's happiness consists, and I find myself happy, and I understand much better than I ever previously did the great obligation under which men lie to God, and to the Son of God, Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION III.

Of that wherein the sons of God differ from the sons of Adam.

WE are sons of God just so far as we submit to be ruled and governed by God. Thus St. Paul says: *Qui spiritu Dei aguntur, ii sunt filii Dei.* (Rom viii. 14)—‘They who are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God.’ And hence it is certain that he who is a son of God, submits to be ruled and governed by God; and that he who is ruled and governed by God is a son of God: and, on the other hand, they who are ruled and governed by human wisdom are sons of Adam; and the sons of Adam are guided and governed by human wisdom, because they neither know, nor are conscious of, any other rule or control. I understand this rule and control as exerting an influence on the body as well as on the soul.

The sons of Adam, guided and governed by human wisdom, have certain medical laws to preserve and maintain health, and they have others to regain health when sick; having, as they have, herbs, roots, and many other things of which they avail themselves to do so. But the difficulty is for them to know the time and season when to employ these things, which is almost impossible.

These same sons of Adam, in order to preserve their souls in purity and simplicity, have the laws of

God and the doctrine of Christ and His apostles. But the difficulty is for them to understand these laws and this doctrine, and to understand their application, which I hold to be still more impossible. But were either one or the other possible, I might perchance admit that, as they know how to apply those drugs in the preservation and maintenance of bodily health, so likewise they, by knowing how to apply Holy Scripture, might preserve and maintain moral health. But holding both to be impossible, I hold it to be equally impossible for a son of Adam to maintain either bodily health or spiritual health.

The sons of God, as they inwardly mortify their human wisdom, so do they equally renounce the utility of medicine, together with all things appertaining and belonging to it, accepting God alone as their physician, who is their Father, by whom they are immediately governed, and kept in bodily health, of which, if they have not as much as they desire, they have at least as much as suffices to promote their spiritual health, which is with them the principal thing. God permits them to fall sick, but it is at one time to mortify them, at another to try them, and again that they may know Him to be their Father and Lord; and when they are sick, He frequently restores them, without the use of the medicines which the sons of Adam employ. These same sons of God, in their drawing near to Him resemble those Samaritans who said to the woman: *Non propter tuam loquelam* (John iv. 42)—‘Now we believe, not because of thy saying;’ and applying the words to the Sacred Scriptures, they say likewise, *Non propter tuam loquelam*. We have another law and another doctrine, which keeps and preserves us

in holiness and righteousness ; this is the Spirit of God, who dwells in us, who so guides and governs us that we have no need of any other rule or control as long as we will not forsake our Heavenly Father. And as it is possible that an individual may be a son of God, and yield himself up to be guided and governed by God ; so it is possible that a son of God may preserve and keep himself in bodily and spiritual health.

The sons of God indeed employ physicians and medicines to preserve bodily health, as they also employ Scripture to preserve spiritual health ; but they do so without placing confidence in either one or the other, because all their confidence is placed in God. Moreover, they observe time and place with reference to the preservation of their bodily health, just as they observe certain ordinances for the preservation of their spiritual health. This they do, rather in external conformity with the sons of Adam than from any conscious necessity of such observances. Nevertheless, these being governed by God only, obey the will of God and depend solely upon it. They understand these truths, for they experience them ; but others find them exceedingly intricate, because *animalis homo non percipit ea quæ sunt spiritûs Dei* (1 Cor. ii. 14)—‘ The natural man discerneth not the things of the Spirit ;’ and for this reason he ever censures and condemns them.

In order to be better understood I offer this simile. Two men would fain ford a great river. A man well acquainted with the river comes up to them, and says, ‘ If you will pass over, you have but to go down into it here, and then you have to regulate yourselves thus and thus ; but if you wish me to take you over, follow me, and do so fearlessly. One of these

two men, confiding in his natural sagacity, and in what he had been told, begins to ford the waters alone; I take this man to represent the sons of Adam. The other, confiding himself to the man acquainted with the river, follows him; this one I take to represent the sons of God.

And as I hold it certain that the folly, presumption, and error of the sons of Adam is much greater than that of him who, when he might cross the river with a guide, and safely, ventures to cross it alone; so, again, I certainly hold the prudence and discretion of the sons of God, who submit to be ruled and governed by the Spirit of Christ, to be much greater than that of the man who wishes to cross the river with a guide rather than alone.

And it is to be understood that we are to that extent the sons of God, in which we are incorporated into Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION IV.

The origin of the vindictive principle in man, and what effects result from the long-suffering with which God defers the punishment of the injuries done Him by men.

PLACING on the one hand all the injuries that men have done each other from the beginning of the world to the present time, and placing on the other hand only those which a man does to God in the course of a single day, it appears to me that the latter transcend the former in heinousness and

aggravation, in quality and quantity, beyond all comparison.

Proceeding further, and considering to what extremes the vindictive affections are carried out by men (for there are but very few injured men who, being able to avenge themselves, do not take revenge); and considering that God, being able to annihilate all those who offend Him with a nod, not only does not annihilate them, but, on the contrary, tolerates them, bears with them, and makes them the recipients of His favours—I have set myself to examine whence the vindictive principle in man proceeds, and what are the effects of the long-suffering of God. And I hold it to be certain that the vindictive principle in man proceeds from the depravity of the first man; being satisfied that, if human nature were not depraved, all vengeance would be most alien to man. For the first man having been created in the image and likeness of God, it is manifest that he was created with feelings alien to vindictiveness, since we know such feelings are so to God. Thus much with reference to man.

From the long-suffering with which God bears the wrongs which are ordinarily done to Him, I consider all the effects that I am going to mention flow; and they are in my opinion worthy of profound consideration. The first is, that many of these wrongdoers and impious persons become His worshippers, and pious; which would never have come to pass had they been punished at the time they did the wrong.

The second is, that had God chastised the wicked immediately upon transgression, within a short time all the impious in the world would have been consumed; and there being no longer any impious persons, the pious would have no opportunity of

exercising their piety, which is necessary in order that, being purified by exercise, it may shine forth to the glory of God.

The third is, that the pious, considering how alien vengeance is to God, and reflecting that their business in this life is to recover the image of God, in which the first man was created, bring their minds to lay aside every feeling of wrath and of vengeance, expressing themselves, when assailed, in these or similar terms : ' My purpose is to recover the image and likeness of God, in which the first man was created ; this was wholly alien to vengeance, since God, being able to avenge Himself, does not exercise revenge ; hence it is not for me to avenge myself, but to do that which my God does, in order that I may attain to be like Him.'

I find these three effects which conduce to the welfare of the pious, and I find two others that conduce to the prejudice of the wicked.

The first, that just in proportion as they succeed, do they offend and work injury ; and thus in the same proportion do they augment and aggravate their eternal condemnation. The second, that in the disquietude and travail which they suffer in their consciences, they begin to feel in this life what they will have to suffer in the other ; they desire to die, thinking to become free from punishment ; but, on the other hand, they would fain not die, doubting lest they should augment it. So that in the long-suffering with which God endures and defers vengeance of the wrongs which men do to Him, I find three things which are to the advantage of the pious, and in the same I find two things which are to the prejudice of the wicked ; whence it appears to me, that as even that which is good in itself recoils

prejudicially upon the wicked, so also that which seems to be evil proves advantageous to the pious, who hold and embrace that piety which is acquired through faith in Jesus Christ our Lord.

I will add here three things :

First, that God, in commanding me to pardon those who do me wrong, virtually commands me to be like Himself, and that I should do as He does.

Secondly, that the vindictive principle emanates from a base mind ; and that the inclination to pardon emanates from a generous mind.

Thirdly, that the Christian, seeing that he can pardon an injury with greater facility than he can avenge it, recognises that God desires of him that which is very easy for him to do, and that which is most becoming and useful for him. And in this way he knows how great is the love which God bears to men, for whose sake he carried out the rigour of His justice upon His only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION V.

Upon the difficulty there is of entering into the kingdom of God ;
the mode of entry, and in what it consists.

MAN naturally does not confide in his fellow-man, unless it be in reference to what he cannot do himself ; neither does he confide in God, unless in reference to what he knows and sees he cannot attain by means of any creature. Such is the wickedness

of the human mind. And hence, the more a man is favoured with creature advantages, the more difficult is it for him to be brought to confide in God.

And that such is the fact, we may learn from the sick, of whom those only are brought to resign themselves to the will of God, who are destitute of means to pay for physicians and medicine : and those likewise who, though they have the means, are at last brought to despair of help from either one or the other.

Hence I am led to reflect upon man's perverseness and to meditate further upon the goodness of God, inasmuch as He still helps and favours those who, through their inability to resist further, submit themselves to His will ; and disregarding, as for that matter, how far we have been pious or impious, He is simply intent to keep His word, by which He has engaged Himself to help those who submit themselves to Him.

That this is true we have constant proofs, not only in what I have stated about sickness, but likewise in everything occurring to man in this present life. Precisely that which we have seen experimentally in external things, I feel assured we shall be able to see in those which are internal ; for man is never brought to commit his justification, his resurrection, or his eternal life to God, until he knows and sees them to be unattainable by creature agency.

Now, reflecting that the rich man has, as he thinks, the means of availing himself of creature agency, both for external as well as for internal things, without submitting himself to the will of God, that He may dispose of him as He pleases, I understand the reason why Christ says, in Matt. xix. 23, ' that it is difficult for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of

heaven'—that is, that he be brought to resign himself to the will of God, and to allow himself to be guided and governed by God, renouncing the guidance and governance of human wisdom, and renouncing the assistance of the creature.

Whence I gather that God first opens the eyes of any man—be he rich or be he poor—whom He purposes to introduce into His kingdom, so that he may know his own impotence, and how impossible it is to the creature to give Him that which He aims at and desires. And I consider the difference between the pious and the wicked, when commending themselves to God, to consist in this, that the wicked submits to God when he can no longer resist; and the good man submits to God whilst he might still further use and avail himself of creature help, and this both as to external things and internal things. And I think that a man may know when he has inward confidence in God, by what he discovers of his outward reliance upon God.

Those who are in the kingdom of God in the way I have described, are the poor in spirit, whom Christ commends. David felt himself such when, in Psalm xl. 17, he called himself poor and needy. And I consider that such have partly attained what is sought in the prayer, *Adveniat regnum tuum*—'Thy kingdom come.' And contemplating the felicity that results from being and remaining in this kingdom, I understand the motive why John began his preaching with announcing this kingdom, and the reason why Christ began His with the same, and the reason why He sent forth the Apostles for the very same purpose. Whence I gather that the beginning, middle, and end of Christian preaching should be to preach the kingdom of God, and to constrain men to

enter into it, renouncing the kingdom of the world, and all that belongs to it.

The men who are, as it were, the natives of this kingdom, I look upon as being planted in God, as a tree is planted in the earth ; and as the tree subsists and produces flowers and fruits by the virtue communicated to it by the earth ; so he who is planted in the kingdom of God, subsists and produces flowers and fruits by the Spirit of God, which guides and governs him. And such an one is a son of God, is just, and will rise glorious, and have eternal life, because he is conformed to Jesus Christ, the Son of God ; and, in addition—Matt. vi.—he enjoys this world's goods little or much, as best comports with the glory of God.

Between that which those persons know and understand of this kingdom of God, by what they read and what they hear, who are outside it ; and that which those know and understand of the same kingdom, by what they feel and by what they experience, who are within it ; I recognise a much greater difference than between what those persons know and understand of the rule and government of a most perfect king, by reading and hearsay, who are outside it, from what those know and understand of the same rule and government, from sight and experience, who are within it.

I will add what is in my judgment apposite : that precisely as diverse plants in the same meadow imbibe the virtues of the soil in different proportions, according to their respective qualities—the one more, the other less ; one after this fashion, and another after that : so, according to the diverse constitutions of those who are in God's kingdom, God communicates His Spirit to them in different degrees—to one

more, to another less ; and to one after this fashion, and to another after that. And all are in the same kingdom, and all participate of the same Spirit ; as all the plants that are in the same meadow, all participate of the same virtues of the soil. And as the plants, were they endowed with the faculty, would affirm the truth of what has been said of them ; so they who belong to the kingdom of God, because they have the Spirit, declare that to be true which has been said of them, recognising everything as proceeding from the favour of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION VI.

Depravity in man is of two kinds—the one natural, and the other acquired.

I LOOK upon every man who is not quickened by the Holy Spirit as subject to a twofold depravity—the one natural, and the other acquired. I understand the natural one to be expressed in that passage in Job xiv. 4, *Neque infans unius diei*—‘ They go astray from the womb ;’ and in that in Ps. li. 5, *In iniquitatibus conceptus sum*—‘ In sin did my mother conceive me ;’ and in that of St. Paul, Eph. ii. 3, *Erasmus naturâ filii iræ*—‘ We were by nature children of wrath ;’ and similarly in all those places of Holy Scripture in which our human nature is condemned. I understand the acquired one to be set forth in Gen. vi. 12, *Omnis caro corruperat viam suam*—‘ All

flesh had corrupted his way ;' and in that passage of St. Paul in Rom. vii. 9, *Ego autem vivebam sine lege quondam*—'For I was alive without the law once ;' and generally in all those passages of Holy Scripture which speak of the corruption of our flesh. The acquired proceeds from the natural, and the natural is inflamed by the acquired.

Of these two kinds of depravity, I apprehend that the natural one cannot be rectified save by grace ; and thus I apprehend that those persons only are freed from it, who by faith enter into the kingdom of God, and become children of God by the Holy Spirit which dwells in them. So that, in those who know Christ by revelation, and accept the covenant which He established between God and man, believe, and because they believe are baptized, their natural depravity is corrected, and they only retain that which is acquired. From this they gradually free themselves, receiving for that end the help of God's Spirit. And whilst they are thus freeing themselves from it, their offences are not imputed to them as sin, because they are incorporated into Christ Jesus, and on that account, as St. Paul says, Rom. viii. 1, 'Nothing now brings them under condemnation.'

I apprehend that just as the acquired depravity which incites the natural is acquired by habit, so it may be laid aside by habit. And to accomplish this, I understand that they are helped by the laws and precepts which human prudence devises, so that a man may by himself free himself from acquired depravity and from inflaming natural depravity, as we read that many have freed themselves. But man will never free himself from natural depravity by himself, because, as I have said, we are freed from this by the grace of Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION VII.

It is God's will that we commit to Him the execution of
all our desires.

TRUE indeed it is, that we know many things by experience which we never should have understood by the aid of speculation only. Having frequently purposed to do many things, each more pious, more holy, and more Christian than the other, and having observed that my purposes almost always issued contrarily to what I had designed, and that many pious, holy, and Christian things in connection with myself have succeeded without my ever having exerted any previous thought or deliberation respecting them, I found myself as it were perplexed, not understanding wherein the secret lay.

I did not marvel that things upon which I, as a man, had resolved, should issue contrarily to what I wished ; but I did marvel that the same should occur to me with reference to things upon which I, as a Christian, had resolved : and finding myself in this perplexity, it happened that I read that declaration of St. Peter, in Mark xiv. 31, *Si oportuerit*—‘ Though I should have to die with Thee, yet will I not deny Thee.’ And reflecting that, although the resolution was pious, holy, and Christian, the issue was the reverse of what he had resolved ; I understood the reason why my resolutions proved wholly

in vain. It was because I resolved without taking into consideration my inability to carry into effect what I had resolved. Moreover, I learned that though God chastised my thoughtlessness by not permitting me to succeed in what I desired; yet, on the other hand, He satisfied my desire by permitting me to succeed in what I had never striven after, never hoped for, nor aimed at. Whence I have gathered that it is the will of God that I am so dependent on Him, that I never resolve or propose anything without having Him present to my mind, without laying before Him my good purpose, and without leaving to Him its execution; and that not only in things which relate to outward and bodily life, but likewise in those relating to inward and spiritual life. This the Divine will so checks me, that although I know what I have said to be what He demands of me, yet I do not dare to resolve, saying 'I will do so and so;' because I know my inability to carry it out. And not daring to make resolutions, I venture to desire to be ever conformed to this will of God, and to leave the execution of it with God; and I am assured that God in His mercy will favour me in this my good purpose; and I am convinced that I ought to regulate myself in all things after this manner. Fresh desire to confide in God in all things will come upon me, and I shall commit myself to Him, in order that He may carry this my purpose into execution. Thus I desire to be ruled by love, hope, and self-denial; in a word, by all that may conduce to make me like Christ and like God, and in all that may redound in bodily and spiritual advantage to my neighbours; so that whilst the purpose remains lively and entire in me, its execution is left to the goodness of God. I entreat every Christian thus to regulate himself, or,

more properly speaking, thus to submit himself to be ruled by God, assuring him that God will not only fulfil his desires, but will satisfy him in many other things which will be done to the glory of God, to his own edification and to that of his neighbours, without his ever thinking of them, hoping or desiring them; God will do this through Jesus Christ our Lord.

In proof of what has been stated, I hold that a man naturally resolves only to do, or not to do, what he believes himself capable of doing; no man resolves to bring about either wet or fine weather. Whence I gather that our resolutions will never be free from arrogance and presumption if we think that to be in our power, which is no more in it than to bring about wet or fine weather. Hence it is not our province to make resolutions, but to desire and to leave the execution of what we desire with God. And, keeping the same end in view, I hold that we ought, in our Christian resolutions, ever to reflect whether that which we resolve upon be pleasing to God or not; because it is a mark of great ignorance, to resolve to do something to the honour of God, of which we are not certain that it is pleasing to God. And thus I feel assured that our resolutions will then be good and wise, when they are conformable to God's will concerning us, and conformable to our ability; seeing that it is folly to promise another what we are not able to perform. And this being the truth, it has been well said that resolution consists in desiring, leaving the execution of our desires with God; being assured that He favours us in them, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION VIII.

The covenants which our Lord Jesus Christ established
between God and men.

WE men, in recognising our existence as derived from God, are born under obligation to love God, to depend on Him, and to submit ourselves to be ruled and governed by Him. This obligation, thwarted by our depravity and evil inclination, draws us in the contrary direction. We may call this obligation a law of nature, and we may say, that the law which God gave the Hebrews, by the hands of Moses, came to discover our obligation and depravity, Rom. iii. 20. For 'by the law is the knowledge of sin.' And so powerful is this evil inclination in the minds of men, that, however much they may strive, they never succeed in the full discharge of their obligation. God, knowing this, sent His only begotten Son, made man, into the world, and willed that His justice should be executed upon Him for that wherein all men had failed, and should thereafter fail, in the obligation incident to their birth. So that this is the covenant between God and man : that they believe and hold that that justice which was executed upon Christ, the Son of God, frees and exempts them from the punishment which they deserved, in having failed in the obligation under which they were born ; and that God justifies them, and accepts them as His

adopted children, and as such rules and governs them during this life, and afterwards raises them up and will give them eternal life. Human wisdom is incapable of admitting this covenant : because, in the first place, looking upon Christ as an ordinary man, it does not apprehend that He is the Son of God ; besides, it does not see on what basis the truth of this covenant is laid, so as to believe it, to hold it undoubtingly, and to rely on it. To attain this, a particular and peculiar revelation from God is needed, which may cast down all the arguments of human wisdom ; so that holding it as assured and settled, that Christ is the Son of God, and that the justice which was executed upon Him exempts us from responsibility in having failed in our obligation, we oblige God to justify us, according to the covenant which He has entered into with us. And being justified, we are incorporated into Christ and grafted into Him. Precisely as a plant is sustained by the virtue of the earth where it springs up, or is planted, so we are sustained by Christ's virtue, in which we are planted in order that we may persevere in the covenant.

Two other covenants depend upon this covenant. The one is, that we believe that Christ rose from the dead glorified, and that faith in this gives us fellowship in Christ's resurrection, so that we rise again even as He rose, and that God will accomplish in us what He wrought in Christ. Human wisdom finds no grounds to warrant belief in this resurrection, and does not believe it ; but the man who has accepted the first covenant, easily accepts this second. The other covenant is, that we believe that Christ lives evermore with God, in the highest exaltation ; and that this faith gives us eternal life, and that by this

faith God works in us what He wrought and still works in Christ. Human wisdom finds no grounds to warrant the hope of eternal life ; but the man who has accepted the first covenant, through revelation, and through the first has accepted the second, easily accepts this third. So that, we, being assured that Christ is the Son of God, accept the covenant of justification by faith, which gives us fellowship in Christ's death ; we accept the covenant of Christ's resurrection, which gives us fellowship in the resurrection ; and we accept the covenant of eternal life, which gives us fellowship in the eternal life wherein Christ lives.

We believe four things, and God works four things in us. We believe that Christ is the Son of God, that He died, and rose again, and that He lives ; and God makes us His children, justifies us, raises us again, and gives us eternal life. We enjoy the two first in this life, and they bring it to pass that we love God, that we depend on Him, according to the obligation with which we are born, having in a great measure overcome our evil inclination ; we shall enjoy the two others in a future state. And experiencing, in this life, in the two first things, the truth there is in the covenant which Christ established between God and us, we are assured of the truth there is in the two second, which we shall realise when it pleases the Divine Majesty for us to do so : in the meanwhile, let us wait and persevere in the covenant and covenants which have been made with us by Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION IX

One excellent privilege of piety.

ALL the good works to which we are excited in this life, stand related either to humanity or to piety. That we have been created men, leads us to sympathise with, and help each other ; that is to say, in all things that belong to the comfort of life. Piety leads us to confide in God, to love Him, to depend upon Him : leads us to confide in Christ, to love Him, and to preach Him : leads us to mortify our fleshly affections and lusts : and leads us to condemn all that the world prizes, such as honours, station, and wealth. There shall be a person wholly alien to piety, who, led by his humanity, will exercise himself not only in all offices that stand related to it, but, beyond these, will discharge those that stand peculiarly related to piety—striving to fulfil the one, and partly performing the other ; and there shall be another decidedly pious, who not only will exercise himself in duties peculiar to piety, but moreover in those which are peculiar to humanity, ever discharging them when an opportunity presents itself. And as the alien to piety, exercising himself in duties peculiar to piety, does not exercise himself in piety, but in the duties which stand related to humanity, because his principal design is his own peculiar interest, which is incident to his being human ; so, on the other hand, the person who is

decidedly pious, exercising himself in the practice of duties incident to humanity, practises himself in piety, because his principal design is the glory of God, which is the characteristic of piety. And it will come to pass, that an alien to piety will preach Christ, yet will not exercise himself in piety, because his principal design will be his own glory and his own private interest ; and, on the other hand, it will come to pass, that a pious man will do good to one that is without piety, and will practise himself in piety, because his principal design is the glory of God ; and although he was not moved to that by Christian charity, but by human pity, nevertheless he exercised himself in piety. Whence I gather, how very great are the advantages which they enjoy who have piety wrought in them by the Holy Spirit, and communicated to the faithful through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Let me add, that he who is a stranger to piety is not only precluded from the perception of this difference between the works of the two classes of persons which is here laid down, but likewise precluded from knowing that he never practises piety himself ; whilst the pious man perfectly well understands when he exercises himself in matters peculiar to humanity, and when he exercises himself in matters peculiar to piety : and this he does by reflecting for an instant, or, more properly speaking, by not forgetting himself. But, indeed, it is true that these privileges of piety are as books, as Isaiah says,¹ ‘ which God hath prepared for those who love Him ; ’ that is to say, for those who come to know and love Him, being justified by faith in Jesus Christ our Lord.

¹ Isaiah xxix. 11-12, 18, 23-24.

CONSIDERATION X.

In what respect the state of that Christian who believes with difficulty, is better than that of another who believes with facility.

AMONGST those who bear the Christian name, I note two classes of men : the one, to whom it is extremely easy to believe all that is said to them in matters of religion ; and the other, to whom it is extremely difficult. And it appears to me that the facility of belief in the one springs from superstition, and slight consideration ; whilst the difficulty in the other springs from excessive consideration. The former never take counsel of human prudence upon any subject whatever ; whilst the latter call in its aid upon every occasion, and are brought with difficulty to believe in anything which human prudence does not approve. The former believe many things that are false, along with some that are true ; and it does so happen, that they give much greater credit to the many things that are false, than they do to the few that are true : the latter do not believe the false, and hesitate to accept the true. Pondering the matter more deeply, I find that the former are assured as to the true things they believe in by the Spirit of God, when He is communicated to them, and by this attestation they are by degrees disabused as to the false, which they thus gradually abandon.

Again, I find that the latter have it certified to them by the same Spirit of God, when He is communicated to them, what things are true ; and by His attestation they are strengthened in the belief of things which are true, and in the disbelief of those which are false. So that the Holy Spirit, by its entrance into two individuals—the one of whom is very easy of belief, and the other very difficult—places them in this condition, that the one struggles with himself, labouring to dispel from his mind those untruths which he so easily accepted ; whilst the other struggles with himself, labouring to attain conviction of those truths which, when delivered by men, he was unable to believe.

Both these men have to strive ; but I hold the position of the man who found it difficult to believe, better than that of the man who found it easy to believe : and this for three principal reasons. The first, because the man who is aided by the Holy Spirit, and has many other subsidiary helps, finds it more easy to believe the truth than to disbelieve falsehood ; the difficulty in doing which is owing to superstition and various other things. The second, because the man who believes easily may readily be deceived ; whilst he to whom it is hard to believe is with difficulty misled. And the third, because the person who is ready to believe remains for a long time under various delusions, as did those in the primitive Church who were converted from Judaism to Christianity ; and he who is slow to believe remains free from every error, since he only believes what the Holy Spirit teaches him.

Hence I conclude that the position in which the Holy Spirit places the person who believes with difficulty, when He begins to teach him, is beyond

all comparison better than that in which He places the man who believes easily. Again, I am clearly of opinion that he who believes, without having been taught by the Spirit of God, relies more upon opinion than upon faith, and is ever involved in error and false conceits. Whence it should be understood, that when a man believes alike in all the statements made to him, he is without the Spirit of God; he believes upon report, by human suasion, and by received opinion, and not by revelation, nor by inspiration. And it being true that the Christian's happiness does not consist in believing merely, but in believing through revelation, and not by report,—we are to conclude that the Christian's faith is not what is based upon report, but that the Christian's faith is by revelation alone: and this is what makes us happy; it is what brings with it love and hope, and is what purifies the heart, and it is also what is in every respect pleasing to God. May we be enriched with it by God Himself, through Jesus Christ our Lord!

CONSIDERATION XI.

In what manner the justice of God redounds to the advantage of those who, through revelation, believe in Christ.

ALL the attributes which the Sacred Scriptures ascribe to God, appear, even to human prudence, to redound to the welfare of man, with the exception of one, which appears to be prejudicial to him. It is

well for man that God is omnipotent, generous, wise, true, benign, merciful, and pitiful; but it does not appear to be well for him that God is just; for God being just, and man unjust, man does not see how he shall escape the judgment of God. But the goodness of God is so great, that it is His will that even this His perfection, which to our minds appears injurious to man, should redound to his welfare no less than all the rest. He determined to inflict upon His own Son all the rigour of that justice which He ought to execute upon all men for all their impiety and sins, in order that men holding this truth for an assured fact—to wit, that God has executed the rigour of His justice upon His own Son—may know that it is as much to their welfare that God is just, as that He is merciful: it being sure that, in administering justice, He cannot fail to save those who regard the punishment already inflicted upon God's own Son as their own. Whence I understand, and assure myself of the fact, that God revealed to the Old Testament saints, that His justice should be carried into execution upon His own Son, Jesus Christ our Lord; and therefore they would hold it as certain that it was nothing less favourable to them that God was just as well as merciful, together with all His other attributes and perfections.

Again, I understand that men, who are not assured by revelation that God has visited the rigour of his justice upon Christ, as we have already stated, ever dread God's judgment; and it is a fearful thing to them that justice is an attribute of God, because they do not know how to satisfy it. This dread gives birth to superstitions, scruples, and ceremonial observances. From all which, we, who, through revelation, are come to the knowledge of Christ, are free, having

the certainty that God, being just, will not chastise us twice. We believe in the Gospel, which assures us that we have been punished in Christ ; and in this we feel assured, knowing that God is just, and that we have already been punished in the cross of Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XII.

In what manner the reason of our inner man assists us, as do the eyes of our outward man.

HAVING frequently stated that man, in order to dwell and abide in the kingdom of God, must needs mortify his reason and his human wisdom in all and everything ; this being true, it may be doubted for what purpose God placed reason in man, since He will not allow him to make use of it whilst he lives in His kingdom. To this, it appears to me that I may answer without hesitation, that God placed it in the inner man for a similar purpose that He placed eyes in the outward man—that just as the external eyes are able to see the sun, not of themselves, but by the sun itself, and likewise all that the sun discloses ; so reason, which is in the inner man, is able to know God, not of itself, but by God Himself, and likewise all that God manifests.

The first man, proud of his reason, wished to know God without God, as if one wished to see the sun without the sun ; and he deprived himself of the knowledge of God, and was left to the government

of his own reason. And he, and all men who have imitated him, seeking to know God simply with their reason, by means of the Scriptures and of the creature, are still more rash than those who, not wishing to see the sun by the sun, attempt to see it by the light of a candle.

Now, this being true, we understand that God has placed reason in man, in order that he, by it, may know God; but it must be by God, and not by his own speculations. It is well that God requires man to mortify his reason, so far as it presumes to know God, and the things of God, by itself alone, without the Spirit of God,—if he desire to know God and to abide in His kingdom in the way it behoves him to do. Of this mortification we have already spoken many times, and said it is that which is revealed to us by our Lord Jesus Christ.

CONSIDERATION XIII.

An allegory, which shows in what the Benefit consists which the human race has received from God, through Christ.

THE vassals of a great King rebelled against Him. For the revolt He condemned them to death, confiscated their estates, and banished them from His kingdom. Condemned, despoiled, and expatriated, they entered into the service of foreign kings, the enemies of their natural liege Lord. The King, as He was benignly disposed towards His vassals, deferred for a while to act against them; and because He was desirous that they, who were wanderers in

exile, should return to His kingdom, first executed the rigour of His justice upon His own Son, and then sent an universal proclamation throughout the world, in which He declared that His justice was already satisfied, and that He had already pardoned all who had rebelled against Him, encouraging them to return to His kingdom, and promising them the entire restitution of what they had lost. The persons who were criminally involved in this rebellion heard this proclamation ; some of them, pretending that they were not involved in it, rejected the amnesty ; for it seemed to them that its acceptance was a confession that they had been rebels. Others, although they knew themselves to be rebels, would not give credit to the proclamation ; it appeared to them too strange a thing that the King should pardon them on account of His Son's obedience to Him. Similarly, some others, though they knew themselves to be rebels,—though they held the proclamation to be genuine,—though they took a copy of it, and even themselves published it, yet dared not return to the kingdom, but sought, on the contrary, in every possible way, to obtain pardon from the King by services, gifts, and presents, being unwilling to avail themselves in any manner of the King's generosity, or of His Son's obedience ; and as they never came back to the kingdom, their property was never restored to them. Thus, neither of these classes availed themselves of the general pardon ; so that, as far as they were concerned, it was just as if it had never been offered. There were some who, knowing themselves to be rebels, and giving full faith and credit to the proclamation, trusting to the King's word, accepted the general pardon, and returned to the kingdom, submitting themselves in all and everything to their

King's government. And although they might at first have somewhat doubted as to the pardon, and so much the more because they saw that that property of which they had been deprived was not all at once restored to them, yet, continuing to reside in the kingdom, and seeing that the King treated them kindly, and that He gradually restored to them what they had forfeited by the rebellion, they likewise persevered in testifying that they had been pardoned, and had heartily to congratulate themselves that they had returned to the service of their own King, and to remain under His rule and government. And because they had experienced the evils incident to rebellion and exile, they terminated and renounced all their friendly relations and associations with other men, as also all their own peculiar designs, which, as they thought, might induce them to rebel again. Occupying and exercising themselves in doing this, they gradually acquired such credit with the King, that He not only restored them all they had lost through rebellion, but made them valuable presents, and treated them as if they never had been rebels.

This is the allegory; and, although it be clear enough in itself, I am unwilling to leave it without some further explanation. And I say that the first man, being in the kingdom of God, and having been created in the likeness and image of God, rebelled against God; through that rebellion he was despoiled of the image and likeness to God, was exiled from the kingdom of God, and was condemned to death; and almost all the whole human race was thus in exile, and for a long period in the service of Satan. God, desirous in His mercy to remedy this evil, first executed the rigour of His justice upon His own Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, and then sent to have it

proclaimed throughout all the world that His justice was satisfied, that He had pardoned all those who were rebels, and that they might, at pleasure, return to the kingdom from which they had been banished, and that He would restore to them His image and likeness which they had lost. This proclamation has been heard throughout the whole world. And some men, esteeming themselves to be saints and righteous, have thought that pardon had nothing to do with them, because they held that where there was no crime, there could be no pardon ; and thus they let it pass. Others, though they held themselves to be rebels, distrusted the pardon, because it appeared to them too strange a thing that God should pardon and receive them into His kingdom, and restore to them what they had lost through rebellion, on account of the righteousness and obedience of another. There are others who, though they know themselves to be rebels, and look upon the pardon as reliable, and receive the Gospel, read it and preach it, yet they cannot bring themselves to enter into the kingdom of God ; because they trust more in themselves than in God, and thus prefer to remain under the rule of their human wisdom, rather than to enter the kingdom of God. These think they ought to earn the pardon of their rebellion by their industry and diligence, and by their own merits. And because neither the one class nor the other enter the kingdom of God, they experience none of its benefits, neither do they enjoy God's liberality nor Christ's obedience. To this position they are brought by their own arrogance and presumption, and thus they ever remain in a state of revolt.

But there are those who know themselves to be rebels to God, and give full faith and credit to

the general pardon which, on the part of God, is proclaimed to them in the Gospel; and then instantly, and without further deliberation, accepting the pardon, enter the kingdom of God, renouncing the kingdom of the world and the rule of human wisdom. These persons, though they doubt to some extent at the outset—doubt as to the pardon, doubt as to the government and rule of God—yet, as they do not depart from the kingdom, they go on to acquire assurance as to this and the other point, and so much the more as they feel God gradually restores to them His image and likeness, which the first man lost through his rebellion, with all the other privileges forfeited through the same rebellion. And because the principal punishment of the rebellion was death, although He does not free them from temporal death, since they die like other men, He frees them from eternal death, promising them resurrection, and giving them an earnest of it in an internal quickening and in Christ's resurrection. These live in consummate happiness, wholly intent upon mortifying their human wisdom and reason, and all those other things which led them to their former rebellion, and might lead them to another. In this course they continue and persevere, and thus go on to acquire such favour with God, that He not only renders them conscious of pardon and the happiness which is involved in being in His kingdom, and possessing whilst there the image of God, but He bestows on them many other favours and graces, receiving them as His sons. This kingdom is begun in this present life, and is continued in the future life; and all this happiness these men recognise as God's bounty, through the obedience of His only begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XIV.

Amongst those things which we are bound by Christian piety to believe, what that is which is most difficult of belief.

HAVING at times occupied myself with the consideration, how difficult it is to bring the human mind duly to believe the truths of Christianity when it is engaged in contemplating and reviewing them, I am now led to examine which, among them all, presents the greatest difficulty ; and I conclude that it is the general pardon following upon the execution of God's justice on Christ.

I am brought to this conclusion by considering that, all men being alive to their own interests, easily give credence to those things, the belief of which does not involve loss to themselves ; and that they believe with difficulty those things which may possibly damage them. However true it be that, amongst all the truths of Christianity, this general pardon is the only one which, as has been said, could redound to the damage of the person believing it, in the event of its proving to be untrue, it appears that my conclusion is good, holding that of the truths to be believed, this is the most difficult to believe. I might fortify this my conclusion with many arguments ; but this appears to me so sufficient, that I am willing to be contented with it, confirming it with what is seen by experience : because, even the man who

lives in the belief of the proclamation, which is published throughout the world, of a general pardon, and shows that he believes, by divesting himself of every external justification, and by entering boldly into the kingdom of God, in which God provides for His people equally in things affecting the body and the soul ;—even such a one finds great repugnance in his mind, when he would bring himself to a state of unreserved trust in God for the support both of body and soul. For he is ever meditating and saying within himself—‘ And should it be untrue that God will, without anxious care on my part, provide all that is necessary for my support, what will become of me ? ’ ‘ And should it be untrue that God, having executed upon Christ the rigour of His justice, and that the proclamation of a general pardon is published by His authority throughout the world, I shall have been bitterly trifled with. ’ And it is certain that, in proportion as a man argues thus with himself, will it appear to him that he might himself make provision for both one and the other.

Proceeding further, and being desirous of examining as to which man had the greater difficulty in confiding to God, whether the support of the body or that of the soul ; I think that it would be the support of the body. I think so, because man is brought with less difficulty to expect that from God which he most assuredly holds himself to be unable to attain by his own efforts. It being, therefore, true that man distrusts himself more with relation to his justification, than with relation to his bodily support, we may conclude that a man is brought with greater difficulty to rely on God for his bodily sustenance than for his spiritual. Having arrived at this point in my meditations, I clearly understand why it is

difficult for the rich man to enter into the kingdom of God (Matt. xix. 23). And being desirous of persuading my mind that it may be brought to depend on God in bodily things as well as spiritual, I call to mind how Christ promises to give the former by way of addition to those who seek the kingdom of God (Matt. vi. 33); and I think that, finding all to be true that Christ promised me in things pertaining to the soul, I have no reason to doubt that He will be found equally true in what pertains to the body. When this fails to satisfy me, I think thus: Since I am justified through acceptance and belief of the proclamation of general pardon, and since I have entered into the kingdom of God, from which the first man was exiled through rebellion, I go on to recover the privileges which the first man lost through his rebellion; ought I to doubt that God will provide me with external things, without my solicitude?—since it is true that the first man, whilst he remained in the kingdom of God, was provided with them, without solicitude on his part. And that this is true, I know it from the fact, that amongst the other punishments with which God visited his rebellion, was this: *Sudore vultus tui vesceris pane*—‘In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread’ (Gen. iii. 19).

From all these considerations I gather, that it is the right thing for me to be mentally intent to depend upon God, as well for the support of the body as for that of the soul; and so much the more for the support of the body, since I have accepted and believe the proclamation of general pardon, and have entered into the kingdom of God; and especially since I know it to be true, that man is brought with greater difficulty to trust God for the former than for the latter. In the next place I gather, that then I shall

be completely a citizen of the kingdom of God, when I shall wholly depend upon God, being a living and true member of the Son of God, Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XV.

How Christians should bear themselves under their tribulations, afflictions, and labours.

BECAUSE human wisdom, as we have at other times stated, holds it to be humility not to trust God, and that it is arrogance to confide in Him; it is necessary for the Christian to be ever on his guard, that it do not sell him white for black, nor black for white. When a pious man is overtaken with some great trial and grief, he is tempted by the devil, through the medium of human wisdom, persuading him that it is wrong to believe that God is engaged to deliver him from that grief and trial in which he finds himself; and that the only thing which it is his duty to do, is to bring his mind to be content with whatever it may please God to appoint. This counsel appears devout and pious, but, examined by a Christian spirit, there is a despair and distrust recognizable in it, which lies in the first proposition, in which it is declared that it is wrong to trust in God; and though the second proposition, that of mental submission, be good, the first spoils it. Now, in order that the second may be good, the Christian spirit makes the first good, persuading every devout person whom it sees in grief and trouble, that God has

promised to honour those who honour Him ; and that He will not allow them to be maltreated by men of the world, but that, on the contrary, He will take great care of them, both in assistance and defence. Dost thou honour God?—then thou mayest be assured and certain that God honours thee, and that He will right early deliver thee from the grief and trouble in which thou art involved ; so that the impious, who wish thee evil, shall have no cause to rejoice in thy calamity. By this suggestion, all God's promises on this head, given in Holy Scripture, recur to the Christian's mind ; and when the saint under trial is prepared to receive this truth, and remains steadfast and firm in this hope, it may persuade him to bring his mind to acquiesce in God's design in that trial. And in such case, acquiescence in the Divine Will is pious and holy, because it is based on a confidence that is in itself pious and holy.

Human wisdom opposes itself to this, and says, Having seen that God permits His people to be persecuted, afflicted, and maltreated, on what canst thou, as a Christian, base thy confidence that He will deliver thee from this affliction and travail? To this the Christian spirit replies, It is true that God permits all this to happen to His people ; but He does so when calculated to promote the cause of the Gospel, the manifestation of His glory, or the glorification of His name, but not to gratify the malignity and base desires of men of the world. Truly God does consent that His saints be maltreated, when they are maltreated because they are saints, and from this results all that we have said ; but He does not suffer them to be so, when maltreated as men, from worldly motives, because He has engaged His word to do just the reverse. David exults in that he,

throughout the course of his life, had never seen a righteous man abandoned by God (Ps. xxxvii. 25) ; and all the righteous may exult for the same reason ; for, although God permits them to suffer, when they suffer as saints and righteous, He does not allow them to suffer under circumstances which happen to men indifferently in this present life.

From all that has been said, we may conclude that a Christian, when maltreated for his piety and righteousness, should resign himself and all his concerns into God's hands, bringing his mind to acquiesce in all that God shall ordain in His disposal of him, rejoicing that God's name should thus be magnified in it and by it ; and that, when he is maltreated simply as a man of the world, he is to believe and be assured that God will deliver him from that grief and trouble to his great satisfaction and contentment, and he ought to bring his mind to be satisfied with the way in which God shall deal with him. And this is the truly Christian disposition of mind, only to be found in those who are incorporated into Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XVI.

That God's promises belong to those who believe them.

CHRISTIAN piety insists that the Christian hold it as certain and assured that God is engaged to uphold him by His grace and in His grace in this present life, and that in the other life He is engaged to give

him immortality and glory. Human wisdom, assuming or feigning piety, would persuade the Christian that he ought to feel assured that God will do this for him, but upon condition that he have faith, hope, and love, which are the gifts of God that impart to the Christian both life and being—not understanding that the extent of a man's possession of these three gifts will be relative to that of his assurance and certainty of the two things upon which Christian piety would have the Christian to be sure and certain, since these two things involve faith and hope, from which springs and proceeds love. Whence we fully gather that it is the duty of the Christian to stop his ears to human wisdom, and to open them to the promises of the Holy Spirit; and thus look to be assured and confirmed in the two first things. I understand that the extent to which he will attain and possess the three Christian graces, faith, hope, and love, will be in proportion to the certainty and assurance with which he holds that God is engaged to support him in this present life, through His grace and in His grace, and that He is engaged to give him immortality and glory in the life to come.

For the pious Christian will say, I know that God only calls those to Himself whom He has first known and predestinated; again I know, that those whom He calls, them He also justifies and glorifies; and I know for certain that He has called me, and therefore I am certain that He has known and predestinated me, and that He has justified me, and that He is engaged to glorify me. Let him hold this, and remain assured of it, never in the least doubting; for the promises of God are fulfilled to all such. Many authorities of Sacred Scripture may be cited to prove this true, but it would be better to say thus :

the truth of this is not believed unless felt experimentally, and this experience belongs only to those who are incorporated in Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XVII.

The manner in which a man should form his resolution with reference to the world and to himself, in order to become a true Christian.

ALL Christian duty consists in the exercise of confidence, faith, and love—for these combined, constitute piety, justification, and holiness: since by confiding, man acquires piety; by believing, he acquires justification; and by loving, holiness. In order to confide, believe, and love, it is necessary to be wise, to understand, and to know; to be wise in selecting the object in which we ought to confide; to understand what it is we have to believe; and to know what we ought to love. Of this wisdom, knowledge, and intelligence, man is incapable—partly from natural depravity, arising from original sin; and partly from that which is acquired by evil habits and worse practices.

The wise man understood this when he said, that ‘Divine knowledge does not enter into an ill-disposed mind, and does not abide in a sinful body.’ Whence I understand that it behoves the man who desires to exercise confidence, faith, and love, in order that he may attain piety, justification, and holiness, to apply himself to be wise, to understand, and to know;

divesting the mind of every evil inclination, withdrawing the body from every evil practice and from every evil habit. Moreover, I understand that, in order to divest the mind of every evil inclination, it is necessary that a man courageously and magnanimously take his resolution with reference to the world, turning his back on all its honours and glory and esteem, neither coveting nor wishing for them in anything, nor in any manner, but extinguishing all ambition and self-esteem. In the next place, I understand that, in order to withdraw the body from every evil practice and from every evil habit, it is necessary that a man be determinedly self-resolved, effectively renouncing all those things from which he may derive any satisfaction or bodily gratification; breaking off from every such thing, withdrawing from it, and abhorring it. Because, by acting thus he will purify soul and body, and will render himself capable, God granting him wisdom, intelligence, and knowledge, of receiving them; and thus he will come to attain confidence, faith, and love, and will be pious, just, and holy, and consequently will be a true Christian.

I understand that Jesus Christ our Lord invites every one to take this resolution, saying, in Matt. xvi. 24—*Qui vult post me venire, abneget seipsum, et tollet crucem suam, et sequatur me*—‘He who will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.’ And I understand that a man then takes his cross upon himself when he voluntarily endures the martyrdom with which men of the world choose to torture him, whether bodily or mentally. The true Christians of the primitive Church endured that of the body, when they who were the open enemies of God and Christ took away their

lives because they believed in Christ. True Christians have endured, and still do endure, that of the mind, when, having trod in the steps of those of old, they are despised and treated as vile and spiritless, and are robbed of their honour and fair fame by those who are the concealed enemies of God and of Christ. And I consider this to be the most cruel, the most terrible, and the most insupportable of all martyrdoms : and the man who stands firm and constant under torture of this kind, may account himself to be a true martyr of Christ.

Again, I understand that to the resolution which man has to form with himself and with the world, and to the martyrdom to which he ought to offer himself, Christ added (Matt. xvi. 24), *Et sequatur me*—‘ And let him follow me.’ I understand that man does not acquire piety, justification, and holiness by the resolution nor by the martyrdom, but by the imitation of Christ, as far as by imitating Christ he succeeds in recovering the image and likeness of God in his mind, in which the first man was created, looking forward to recover it bodily at the resurrection of the just, when, having acquired impassibility and immortality, Christians shall rejoice for ever with Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XVIII.

What ought to engage the attention of the man who aspires and desires to enter into and remain in the Kingdom of God, and what to this end he brings of his own.

UNDERSTANDING what our Lord Jesus Christ says (John vi. 44), that no man can come to Him unless His eternal Father draw him; and understanding what St. Paul says (2 Thess. iii. 2), *Non omnium est fides*—‘All have not faith,’ and that faith is the gift of God (Eph. ii. 8), I understand, likewise, that it is not in man’s power to believe, to love, and to confide: nor is it in the power of man to know God, or to know himself, or to hate the world and himself; since it is necessary that all this be brought about by the peculiar and special favour of God; so that it is manifestly beyond man’s power to make himself inwardly pious, just, and holy, it being God’s province to effect all this.

On the other hand, understanding the numerous exhortations and admonitions with which Scripture abounds, by which all men, without exception, are exhorted and instructed to be pious, righteous, and holy, I understand that it is every man’s duty to aspire after, to desire, and to attain piety, righteousness, and holiness; but by asking it of God, seeking

to obtain it wholly from Him and through Him, and understanding that it is the Christian's duty, who is seeking and asking this, to exert himself studiously and diligently in all that relates to himself, and that appears within his power, as, for instance, in curbing his affections and lusts, at least in those externals which admit of being curbed, or in averting his eyes from what gratifies the sight, in withholding his ears from what would excite them with delight, and thus in all other external sensations, which the Christian may conquer, by withdrawing the body when he might be unable to withdraw the mind. But beyond everything else, and chiefly, should the Christian be attentive not to please men of the world, neither holding with nor adopting the tone of their conversation, ever remembering what St. Paul says (Gal. i. 10), *Si hominibus placuero, Christi servus non essem*—'For if I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ.' In such circumstances he will have to obey this rule : Should he be invited to please man by irreligious conduct, he will in no way gratify them ; but to every solicitation to act in harmony with religion, let him ever consent ; and in things indifferent, let him oblige the world in such as are distasteful to himself, but he is not to do so in such as are personally agreeable to him. Thus he will be brought not to please men when they solicit an irreligious line of conduct, or one that would be agreeable to himself ; and thus he will not refrain from obliging them in order to disoblige them, but in order that he may not offend against religion, and that he may not pamper his mind with the aliment of self-satisfaction. A man will easily accomplish this, by prayerful dependence upon God, and by ever living superior to himself—by conceiving of himself as living

amongst worse than mortal enemies, against whom it is one's duty to be ever on the watch, that nothing may occur inadvertently. And whilst engaged in these exercises and occupations, it will never occur to him that he is through them to acquire piety, righteousness, and holiness; but he will only seek to keep his mind well awake, and his habits well regulated—so that, when it shall please God to give him piety, righteousness, and holiness, it may descend on his soul as beneficially and as successfully as the rain upon a good soil when it has been ploughed and cleaned from briars and stones: holding it beyond all question, that as the husbandman, when he clears the land from briars and stones, places God under no obligation to visit it with rain and sunshine; so man, by purging and cleansing his bodily appetites and the affections of his mind, places God under no obligation to bestow His Holy Spirit upon him. But as sun and rain work more effectively upon land that has been ploughed and cleaned from briars and stones, so the Holy Spirit operates more effectively upon a mind that is found free and purged from affections and lusts. And in this manner the Christian understanding the duties devolving upon him, and practising them, and understanding what he has to expect from God, and longing for it, will find himself within a short time much conformed to the image of God, and to that of Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XIX.

Christian life consists in this, that man esteem himself dead to the world, and that he aim to live to God.

THE appellation 'Christian,' when first employed, was in the eyes of the world so vile, despised, dishonourable, and abject, that only those persons adopted it who, being called of God, and having suppressed all desire of ambition, glory, and worldly repute, esteemed and judged themselves wholly dead to the world. And it was when they came to baptism that they with propriety assumed the Christian name; so that a man first received the Divine call, and esteemed and judged himself to be dead to the world, before his subsequent baptism, at which he assumed the designation 'Christian.' Because the baptized, although they were at first called saints, were afterwards called Christians, when, as God's elect, they believed the justice of God to have been executed upon Christ, and being baptized, they were to the world as if dead and buried, whilst as to God they had risen again from the dead and lived—professing to imitate Christ, who ignominiously died to the world, and gloriously lives to God. St. Paul understood this when, in Romans vi., he says that 'Christians are dead and buried in baptism with Christ into His death: that like as Christ was dead and

buried and lives, so likewise we, being dead and buried, should walk in newness of life.'

We Christians are dead and buried, as being dead with Christ upon the cross, as well in the world's opinion of us as likewise in the opinion we have of the world ; and we are raised up, and live too : we are risen with Christ, and also in respect of the judgment God entertains of us, giving us His Holy Spirit, and likewise in respect of the opinion we hold of Him, striving as we do to attain great conformity to the image of His only begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Lord.

Since the term ' Christian ' began to be honourable and glorious in the eyes of the world, Kings and Emperors feeling honoured in the application of it to themselves ; and since baptism is given and imparted to those who do not maintain that first resolution, of adjudging themselves to be dead to the world, although the title of Christian is assumed at baptism, and that man in baptism promises and makes profession of imitation of Christ, so far as He dies to the world and lives to God : because, though it be in the eyes of the world an honourable thing to take the style of Christian, and to make a Christian profession, it is disgraceful to fulfil what is promised, and to maintain one's profession ; men, with reference to Christ, ordinarily remaining satisfied to assume that which indeed is honourable, namely, the style and profession, they decline to assume that which is ignominious, that is, to die to the world, nor do they care to assume that which the world neither sees nor understands, namely, to live to God. And hence what St. Paul says has no reference to them ; they are neither dead with Christ nor have they risen with Christ, for he cannot be raised from the dead who never died.

I consider it to be the part of a Christian, acting out the title he assumes, and upholding the profession which he made at baptism, to bring himself to that resolution to which men came at the first promulgation of the Gospel before they came to baptism; their determination being in this form—‘As far as the world goes, I am dead and buried, for when they baptized me, they slew and buried me; I am raised from the dead and live in reference to God, for when Christ died, I was buried in baptism with Christ into His death, my resurrection began, and I began to live in Christ in His resurrection and in His life. God slaying Christ’s flesh upon the cross, slew mine; and God raising Christ from the dead, raised me. Now, this being true that I am dead and buried, there ought to be no greater liveliness of affections and appetites than is to be found in a man really and effectively dead and buried. And it being equally true that I am raised from the dead and alive, it is right that all those affections and sentiments should live in me which are to be found in a man who is really and indeed raised from the dead and alive.’ Having formed this purpose and resolution, he will live self-observant and watchful; so that, when he shall recognise in himself any affection or any appetite peculiar to a man who is alive to the world, he will very quickly endeavour to slay it, saying, ‘This is not mine, nor does it belong to me, who am dead to the world;’ and when he shall feel himself moved by anything that savours of worldly honour and esteem, or when he shall wince because both are taken away from him, he will remedy the evil presently, saying, ‘I know that I am not alive to the world: why, therefore, should I aim at or esteem that which the world prizes? And if I live to God, I ought

not to aim at or to esteem anything that is not honoured and prized by God ; that is, I hold myself to be dead and buried as to the world, and raised from the dead and alive unto God—so that I being dead and buried to the world, ought not to aim at worldly things, nor ought I to feel pained when I am spoiled of them : and being raised again unto God, and living to God, I ought to aim at the things of God, and to grieve and feel pained only when I am robbed of them. And the divine things which the Christian ought to aim at and strive after are those of the Holy Spirit, and that He should rule and guide him, and maintain him in the possession of the kingdom of God in the present life, as He is fully able to do ; and in the life eternal, as He has engaged Himself to do ; and this with Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XX.

That men should regulate the mind, when disordered, convalescent, and in health, as they are wont to treat the body under similar circumstances.

I CONCEIVE that they who belong to the kingdom of God should regulate the mind, when disordered, convalescent, and in health, as discreet men regulate the body, when disordered, convalescent, and in health.

I mean to say, that as the discreet man, in bodily sickness, seeks out wise and experienced physicians, who, by prescribing suitable medicines for him, and by subjecting him to a proper regimen, cure him; so he who finds himself mentally sick ought to seek out an experienced spiritual physician, or indeed several such, who may put him in the way of knowing Christ, in order that, being made a member of Christ, he may be cured of his mental ailment; of which, I take it, all those are cured who, being called of God, believe in Christ, while all others remain diseased.

Again, I mean to say, that as the discreet man, when convalescent from bodily ailment, always lives most attentive and observant of himself in all things, careful lest he should eat anything that might cause him to relapse, as also careful not to commit any other excess that might cause him to fall into the same disorder; so he who is endowed with a tolerably sound mind will have, while only convalescent, to live very careful of himself in all things, and very self-observant, seeing well to it that every obstacle be removed out of his way, and not engaging in anything that might cause him to relapse, or to lose aught of the health that he has acquired, being equally attentive and vigilant, when in conversation and other worldly matters, not to take any part in them that may do him harm,—just like a convalescent at a banquet or elsewhere, who fears lest he should err in anything whereby he may possibly injure his bodily health; feigning to eat, but not eating, and so conducting himself that he neither damages his own health nor offends those persons who have their eyes upon him.

Moreover, I mean to say, that as he who, having

been sick, and having been convalescent, although he may find himself in health, if he be discreet, does not permit himself to indulge in eating things prejudicial to the body, nor to injure himself by excessive exertion, although he may not live with that attention, nor with so great care as he did when convalescent, fearing lest he should again be overtaken by that sickness of which he was cured ; so likewise he who finds himself cured from some mental infirmity, feeling himself much mortified and much quickened, ought not to live negligently, nor to deviate into practices and conversations relating to things of the external world, fearing lest through mental depravity he should return again into the past disorder, considering that relapses in diseases of the mind are worse than relapses in diseases of the body. Though from this relapse God *Himself* ever preserves those who have gained health by regeneration and renovation, wrought by the Holy Spirit in them who are incorporated in Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XXI.

Differences in sins and in sinners ; the obligations of piety ; and signs of piety and of impiety.

ALL men who sin, either sin against themselves or against their neighbours, or against Christ or against God. They sin against themselves, defiling their bodies with carnal vices and with intemperance ; depraving their minds with ambition, with envy, and with anger ; because, while practising these, they join to the natural depravity in which they were born the corruption of their vicious habits. They sin against their neighbours, injuring and damaging them in their persons, in their property, in their honour, and in their character, and by presenting to them a bad example and pernicious teaching. They sin against Christ, in seeking to be justified by their own works : because they show in so doing that they give no credit to Christ in the covenant of justification, which He established between God and men, shedding His own blood. They show, I say, that they hold it to be invalid, and that they distrust it. They sin against God, when they are angry and aggrieved at God's dealings, because by their complaints, anger, and vexation, they manifest their dissatisfaction with them ; the dissatisfaction proceeds

from disapproval, and the disapproval proceeds from a disparaging conception of God ; and for this very same reason God Himself is hated.

They who sin against themselves, sin against the dignity of man ; they who sin against their neighbours, sin against charity ; they who sin against Christ, sin against faith ; and they who sin against God, sin against natural piety.

They who sin against themselves, sin likewise against their neighbours, since by their sins they set an evil example ; and they sin against Christ, since by their sins they bring Christianity into disrepute ; they sin against God, since they are convinced, either by the law or by their own consciences, that in what they do they offend against God.

Those who sin against their neighbours, sin against themselves, augmenting their own depravity and corruption ; they sin against Christ, depriving themselves of charity, which is the criterion of Christian piety ; and they sin against God, being convicted, either by the law or by their own consciences, that their conduct is offensive to God.

They who sin against Christ, sin against themselves, depriving themselves of justification, and consequently of the kingdom of God ; they sin against their neighbours, giving them an example of unbelief ; and they sin against God, because by offending the Son they offend the Father, and by offending the person sent, they offend Him who sent him.

They who sin against God, sin against themselves, depriving themselves of piety ; against their neighbours, by setting a bad example ; against Christ, for the very same reason that they do who, when they sin against Christ, sin against God, through the union that exists between Christ and God.

Whence I gather, that man owes it to himself to be pure and free from defilement, which is attained by mortification of the affections and appetites that are according to the old Adam ; he owes to his neighbours love and charity, with good example and good teaching ; to Christ, faith ; and to God, piety. And as I understand a certain hope of resurrection and eternal life stands connected with faith, so likewise is worship in spirit and in truth connected with piety (John iv. 24).

Moreover, I infer that to live licentiously and viciously, is a mark of depravity and corruption ; to live prejudicially to one's neighbour, is a mark of malignity and iniquity ; to live superstitiously and ceremonially, is a mark of unbelief and distrust ; and to live discontented with God's providence, is a mark of impiety. So, on the other hand, it is a sign of mortification, to live chastely, purely, and modestly ; it is a sign of goodness and of charity, to live without prejudicing anyone ; it is a sign of faithfulness and confidence, to live at peace with conscience ; and it is a sign of piety and holiness, to live content with God's dealings in all things. Whence, understanding that self-denial and charity are only attained by the gift of God, I know that faith and confidence, piety and holiness, self-denial and charity, are preserved and increased in man by the Spirit of God, which we receive through Jesus Christ our Lord.

I will add, that when men sin against themselves and against their neighbours, if they sin through weakness, as soon as they have sinned they feel grieved, and repent, considering the offence against God, the damage to their neighbour and to themselves ; and that when men sin against Christ and against God, if they sin through weakness and infirmity, they do the same, considering the offence

against Christ and against God, the bad example to their neighbour, and their own injury.

And, furthermore, as they who sin viciously and carnally find satisfaction in their sins, when they sin through baseness; so likewise they who sin against Christ in external justification, and against God in complaining of His doings, find satisfaction in their works and feelings when they sin through unbelief and impiety.

And by these indications a man may know when he sins through weakness and infirmity, and when through baseness; having before his eyes, however, the light of the Holy Spirit, which is obtained through Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XXII.

The reason why God gives a pious man a son, and then suddenly takes him away again.

PONDERING within myself what God designs when he gives a pious man a son, and then takes him away again within a few days; I think that He may design what we ourselves purpose when we give a boy a plaything, and seeing him very pleased with it, and having a desire to test his temper and disposition, we take it from him. And I understand that as we form a favourable opinion of such a boy, whom we see resign his plaything with the same

cheerfulness when we take it away from him as he exhibited when he received what we gave him, and as we form a bad opinion when he complains, is vexed and weeps, and then chastise him for it; so God, purposing to try the self-denial of a pious man, gives him a son, and when He sees him joyous in the possession of the boy, He takes him away again: and if the pious man aforesaid resign him with the same pleasure with which he received him when He gave him, the pious man gives a good indication of piety and holiness; and if he complain, vex himself, and weep, he gives but a sorry indication of his piety, and a worse of his self-denial. And occasionally it happens that God chastises him on this account more keenly in this, which is to him the sorest point.

There is this difference, that we giving the boy a plaything, and then taking it from him, design to test and know him; but God giving a son to a pious man, and taking him away again, designs that this person should know himself—that he should ascertain his religious position, what are his powers of self-denial—and designs to exercise him in self-mortification. And it is to God a much more easy thing to give a man a son, and then to take him away again, than it is for a person to make a present and then resume it. Hence I understand it to be becoming and dutiful in a saint so to bear himself with relation to God, when He takes from him something that He has given him, however dear it may be to him, as the well-disposed boy conducts himself towards his father when he takes from him the plaything which he had given him. But none ever attain to such piety save those who enter into it through the door, which is Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XXIII.

Similar things happen to the man whom God disenamours
of the world and enamours of Himself, as to
him who is disenamoured of one woman
and becomes enamoured of another.

FINDING my mind wholly sterile and dried up, and as it were alienated from God, and understanding that this proceeded from God's having hidden His presence from me, I thought to remedy this my necessity by imposing on my memory that it should occupy its meditations with God solely. Scarcely had I conceived this purpose—scarcely had I begun to put it in execution, than I understood that, although it be in my power to occupy my memory in meditation upon God as upon anything else, still, however, it is not in my power to cause my mind to feel the presence of God, and thus free it from barrenness, aridity, and alienation from God. Moreover, I understood what an utter difference there is between the state of the soul when it labours to realise the presence of God, from that in which it is when God makes it conscious of His presence; and being desirous of knowing in what this difference consisted, I perceived it consisted in this, that in one instance there is the operation of the human mind, and in the

other that of the Holy Spirit; and thus I concluded that the same difference exists between these two states of mind, that there is between flesh and spirit.

And proceeding further, I understood that the men who, for their own purposes and for their own interests, seek and strive to estrange themselves from the world, and to set their affections upon God, neither being inspired nor moved so to do by the Holy Spirit, much resemble those men who, for their own purposes and their own interests, labour and strive to estrange themselves from a base and vulgar woman, and to enamour themselves of another with higher qualifications, not being excited to do so either by the force of their own affections nor by the desire of the object to which they would fain attach themselves. I mean to say, that the difficulties, the vexations, and the toils which these latter experience, are similar to those experienced by the former, and that neither ever succeed in attaining what they aim at.

Again, I understood that the men whom God would estrange from the world and enamour of Himself, much resemble those men whom a person in high station would detach from another person of a low and plebeian one, and enamour of himself. I mean to say, that the mutual experiences of the one and of the other are almost coincident; that with the same facility either of them is estranged and enamoured; that almost the same feelings and emotions animate them both: because, as the one is assisted to withdraw and to fix his affections by favours, caresses, and external demonstrations, so the other is assisted, or, more properly speaking, is constrained, to withdraw and to fix his affections by favours, caresses, and by demonstrations internal, spiritual, and divine.

I mark one notable difference here, that the one, because he loves mutable objects, is ever timid ; and the other, because he loves objects stable in their nature, is wholly freed from fear. Furthermore, I find that the one has the satisfaction that is associated with the remembrance of the object he loves, in his own power ; and that the other always remains at God's mercy, not having it in his power to be able either to take or to feel greater satisfaction than what God may please to give him, in making him feel and enjoy His presence.

And I understand that when that person whom God would estrange from the world and enamour of Himself, applies himself diligently and exercises himself to become enamoured of God, he experiences that in himself which he proves who, for his own purposes and interests, seeks to disenamour himself of the world and to enamour himself of God ; so that they whom God disenamours and enamours may bear witness as to the state of those who labour to disenamour and to enamour themselves ; but these can give no testimony to the state of the others. Whence I understand that the men labour in vain who, to attain their own ends, seek to disenamour themselves of the world and to enamour themselves of God.

Moreover, I understand that they may regard themselves as most fortunate who know that they are not self-impelled to disenamour themselves of the world and to enamour themselves of God, but that they have been moved by the Spirit of God.

Furthermore, I understand that they who labour to disenamour themselves of the world and to enamour themselves of God, waste their energies when, without being moved to love, or when God

hiding His presence from them, they would fain discover it by their own diligence and by their own efforts ; when God, holding Himself aloof, they for their own satisfaction desire His presence.

And, above all, I understand it to be the duty of those whom God is pleased to disenamour of the world and to enamour of Himself, to apply their minds to their disenchantment from the world, neither desiring its favours, its caresses, nor its blandishments, but putting them far away from themselves, avoiding and abominating them ; not purposing thereby that God, moved by their effort, be bound to enamour them still more of Himself, but that, God's favours finding them stripped and deprived of worldly favours, they will be more efficacious in them, penetrate them more deeply, and transform them more into God's likeness, and then they will more quickly attain and totally acquire the love of God. And that this is true, he will easily understand who will consider how much more quickly a man will become enamoured of a highly-gifted person who has wholly given up and desisted from intercourse and converse with a base and plebeian one.

Having reviewed these considerations, and having understood these secrets and others that are connected with and dependent upon them, referring to Holy Scripture I have found them quite in harmony with what I have read there ; since Solomon, in his Canticles, celebrates the love between God and the soul, and that the separation which takes place when the soul leaves God and devotes itself to the world is there called adultery. And it appears to me that the conduct of our Lord Jesus Christ, in declining one who wished to follow Him, and in calling another who suggested difficulty or delay (Matt. viii.), did

nothing else than reject the love of the one, and desire to gain the love of the other. This, as I conceive, He gave the apostles to understand when He said unto them (John xv.), *Non vos me elegistis, sed ego elegi vos*,—‘ You have not chosen me, but I have chosen you ;’ as if He had said, You did not set your affections upon me, but I set mine upon you. I understand that St. John expresses the same idea when he says that to be a son of God one must become so, neither by the will of the flesh, nor by the will of man, but by the will of God and through the Holy Spirit (John i. 13). So that man in this present life should strive to disenchant himself of the world, and occupy himself in prayer to God that he may become enamoured of Him, receiving from Him to this end the Holy Spirit, which is attainable by faith in Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XXIV.

That they who are governed by the Holy Spirit, aspire, in serving God, to increase in the love of God.

GOD loves all men generally, and He loves with a particular love all those for whom He has executed the rigour of His justice upon His only begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Lord. Men generally hate God, and those hate Him with peculiar hatred who

know that they have added other acts of depravity to their natural depravity.

The love which God bears to man proceeds from the great things which He has done for him ; so that it stands to reason, He loves those most who are interested in the justification which is through Christ. Man's hatred to God proceeds from the depravity with which he offends Him, because, as the adage runs, ' He who injures, never forgives ; ' so that it stands to reason that they hate God most who have offended Him most. It appears to be reasonable, that as God is consummate perfection, He should be loved by man in the highest degree ; and that man being in the highest degree imperfect, he should be in the highest degree hateful to God. It seems, likewise, that man, having received many benefits from God's bounty, ought to love God much ; and that God, not having received from man anything save insults and injuries, man should be hated by God. But, on the other hand, the obligation God has to love man, on account of the great things He has done and is doing for him, is so strong, that although He knows the highest imperfection to be in him, and that He is offended by him, He does not cease to love him ; that being in this instance true of God, in relation with men, which takes place in the case of a good father with a disobedient and vicious son, who is more drawn to love him by the strength of what he has done for his son, than he is to hate him by his disobedience and depravity. And the hatred and enmity which man has towards God, through natural depravity, and through the offences which he has added to depravity, draw him likewise as much the other way ; so that, although he recognises in Him consummate perfection, and, beyond

that, finds and feels himself benefited by God, not only is he unable to bring himself to love God, but, indeed, neither can he cease to hate Him. That occurs to man in this instance, with relation to God, which happens to a vicious and malignant son with his good father, in whom baseness and malignity have greater influence in exciting hatred to him than the knowledge of the father's goodness, and the great obligations under which he is to his father, prompt him to love him.

Whence I understand that God, willing to be loved by man, as the good father desires to be loved by his son, knowing that the hindrance to this love is what we have stated, namely, that 'the injurer never forgives,' God executed the rigour of His justice upon His own Son; as though the good father should say to the disobedient son, 'Thou seest that I have chastised thy brother for thy disobedience and offences; since then I have removed the impediment, love thou me as I love thee.'

Here I understand that it was not less God's purpose, in carrying out the rigour of His justice upon Christ, to give me confidence than to satisfy Himself. Moreover, I understand that the man who gives credit to this justice of God, visited upon Christ, accepting it and making it his own, loses all the hatred which he bears to God, and begins to love God; just as the son, who believes that the father has chastised his brother for that wherein he had himself disobeyed, ceases to hate his father, and begins to love him. Now I understand, that just as the son, not longing that his father would love him—for he already *knows* that he loves him—neither that he should love him *more*, because he knows that he loves him exceedingly, but longing himself to love his father

greatly, strives with all his might to serve him in everything that he thinks to be pleasing to him, and exposes himself to great perils for his sake, and denies himself all his pleasures and gratifications on his account, considering that being loved by his father, for whom he likewise is doing all in his power, he will greatly love his father;—thus, neither more nor less, the man already justified, longing, not that God should love him, because he knows that He loves him already, neither that He should love him more, because he knows that He loves him exceedingly, but desirous himself of loving God much, strains every nerve to serve God, knowing that he being loved by God, for the great things that God has done and is doing for him, that he also, in doing *all in his power* for God, will come to love God greatly.

Furthermore, I understand that reflection upon the great sins which God has pardoned us, causes our love to increase; just as reflection upon the great offences we have committed, when we are unconscious of pardon, causes our hatred to increase.

Moreover, I understand that the services which those persons who are governed by the Holy Spirit render to God, are not done to discharge obligations, subject to which they were born; nor are they done at the suggestion of human prudence, as human philosophy teaches, feigning piety in order to put God under obligation, or that He may pardon them their offences, or that He may love them; but indeed to bring themselves under obligation to love God more, and to increase, day by day, in the love of God.

Moreover, I understand that the services which the Holy Spirit assigns these persons are in order to disenamour them of themselves and of the world, and in order to enamour them of God and of those per-

sons who love God. And I understand that a man has become disenamoured of self when he denies himself all those things that could give and cause him outward satisfaction in any way whatever. And I understand a man then to disenamour himself of the world, when he takes away, and detaches from his mind, every thought of gratifying and pleasing the world in worldly things, and carries out this his purpose whenever opportunity offers.

And I understand that a man then evinces affection towards God, and towards those who love God, when his soul yearns after them—when he obliges himself to love them by practically serving and benefiting them—acting towards them as he would act towards God Himself were he to see Him in need of his service, as David says he did (Ps. xvi.).

And again, that to suffer for Christ—that is to say, in the confession and in the manifestation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ—more than anything else enamours them of God and of Christ who so suffer; and I understand that when actually suffering, love takes away from them much of the poignancy of what they undergo.

And, with all this, I understand that the love which God bears a pious and just man, however afflicted and imperfect he may be, is beyond all comparison greater than the love which a pious and just man, however perfect he may be, bears to God: just as a good father loves a son more, however wicked he may be, than a son, however good he may be, loves his father. And since this is the truth, it is no wonder that they who are such live in great security; that nothing that is evil can possibly happen to them in this life, neither can the happiness which is promised to the pious and just fail them in the life eternal, knowing as they do God's particular provi-

dence ; and they are just in accepting the justice of God executed upon Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XXV.

In what way the pious are moved to bring into operation the righteousness of God.

I UNDERSTAND that very much of Christian piety consists in this—that a man should never dispose of himself, either in action, by working out his own will, or in thought, saying ‘This would suit me well,’ unless he have some evident indication of the will of God ; so that, when his actual position, his dwelling, and mode of life, become irksome to him, and it occurs to him to think and say, ‘Such and such a thing would suit me well,’—let him immediately say, ‘What do I know as to whether this would suit me well ? God is the Being who knows what is good ; and since He knows it, I refer myself to Him, that He may place me in it, and in the meanwhile I will believe that which is best for me is to remain in the position in which I am.’ By this resolve, man condemns the judgment of prudence and of human reason ; he renounces the light of nature, and enters into the kingdom of God, surrendering himself to the rule and government of God.

Moreover, I understand that although God has manifested His will to some saints under the old

dispensation, and to others under the new, verbally, if the expression may be permitted ; yet the common language in which God speaks to the saints is by influencing their will to do what they ought, and afterwards constraining them to do it, or by facilitating its execution. So that, when a pious person shall feel himself moved to change his condition, place of residence, or style of life, or anything else as to which he shall doubt whether the impulse be from the spirit or from the flesh ; if, on the other hand, he shall see himself obliged to put it in execution, or that he shall find great facility in carrying it out, he will understand that God shows His will in that way—and holding that demonstration as an adequate indication of God's will, he will not hesitate to put it in execution. If he shall have the will, but not the necessity nor the facility, he will remain quiet. If he shall have the necessity or the facility, and not the will, he will likewise remain quiet, saying, ' If this be the will of God, He will inspire me with the will to perform it ; ' and he will so much the more assure himself of this, because I understand, and hold it sure and certain, that God is so jealous of them who act thus devoutly, that even when they are so excited by sensual appetite and human affection that they entertain the desire to carry it into execution, God Himself prevents its accomplishment, lest they should fall into depravity—unless it be His will to chastise them by letting them fall into what they desire, holding it to be good for them, as He chastised David in the instance of Bathsheba. And this discipline is very fearful. I do not understand that it consists in the carrying out of the man's lust, but in the experience of the trouble in which he finds himself involved after its gratification. In such cases, pious persons

know also the will of God, but it is combined with anger and wrath ; and thus they are more confirmed in never coming to the conclusion that it can be well that they should be in some other position than that in which they actually are, and in remaining attentive listeners to that divine language when God moves the will, and facilitates and compels its accomplishment. With which language I understand that God likewise speaks to the wicked, as He spoke to Nebuchadnezzar, and as He spoke to Darius and Cyrus, and as He spoke to Titus and Vespasian. But there is here a very great difference: because in that which they did and do who are wicked like these latter persons, they neither knew nor know the will of God, and on that account, however well they acted, they nevertheless neither did, nor do they, thereby serve God ; and the pious, because they know the will of God, and knowing it, put it into execution, do thereby serve God. And because they who are such engage in all their works with this knowledge, I understand that they in all their works serve God. These are they who by faith appropriate the justice of God which was executed upon Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XXVI.

That the flesh is enmity to God whilst it is flesh
 unregenerate, and that regeneration is properly
 the work of the Holy Spirit.

THE Apostle Paul, experimentally instructed by the Holy Spirit, condemns the flesh as enmity against God. By flesh I understand all mankind, in so far as they are not regenerated by the Holy Spirit. Human wisdom, which is ever opposed to the Holy Spirit, holding this condemnation to be hard and terrible, and being unwilling to submit to it, will have it that by flesh St. Paul meant that which Socrates or Plato would have understood—that is, the sensuous judgment. All the partisans of human wisdom concur in this sentiment, holding it to be both absurd and evil to condemn all the works of unregenerate flesh as sins; because, as they think, there are some with which unregenerate men not only do not offend God, but in reality serve Him—as are those to which they and the animals conform, both being moved by natural instinct, as it is for a father to beget a son, and as it is for a son to maintain a father—which things human wisdom says not being vices, but, on the contrary, being virtues in the brutes, it is erroneous to affirm that these same acts are sins in unregenerate men;

because, were it so, man's position would be worse than that of the brutes. Here I understand human wisdom to be self-misguided, in that it does not reflect that the brute, having neither wisdom nor reason, does not change God's ordinances nor Nature's institution; whilst man, not regenerated by the Holy Spirit, continually perverts and changes it by his wisdom and reason—nay, cannot cease to pervert and change it, to the extent in which, elated by his wisdom and by his reason, he occupies himself in correcting the works of God, and as far as, moved by self-love, he aims in everything at his own interest and his own private glory; and thus he neither follows the order of Nature, nor aims at the glory of God. So that a father in begetting a son, and a son in maintaining a father, each severally designs his own glory, his own interest, and satisfaction; such being peculiar to man through the depravity of corrupted flesh, that he ceases to love and esteem God, and esteems and loves himself, aiming in everything at his own private interest and glory.

Hence I bring forward the case of a proprietor who, in this our world, has in his establishment thirty slaves, for all of whom he has amply provided necessaries, and whom he has instructed as to the services which he wills that they should render him. Of these thirty slaves, I conceive of ten as stolid, without intellect or faculty of discourse—indeed, like beasts: I understand that these do what their master commands them, designing nothing beyond obedience to him. I conceive of the next ten as being expert, and as having judgment and discretion, who, claiming to know and understand as much as their master, and sometimes more, set aside the orders which have been given them. Thinking themselves shrewder

than he, and having an eye to their own interests, they always aim at gaining their liberty—at being better treated, and at being made more of by their lord—discontented with their servitude, and discontented with the ordinary treatment they receive from their lord. I conceive of the remaining ten as being equally expert and intelligent, possessing judgment, ability, and discretion; but, being persuaded that their master knows more than they, and not making use of their faculties to fathom their master's purpose in what he has commanded them, without perverting or changing the orders given them, they obey their lord, and are content with their servitude and with their treatment: these obey their master, only aiming to do what has been commanded them, for the advantage, satisfaction, and glory of their master. The ten first serve but as beasts, with their bodies; and in the world these are the brute animals. The second ten, in serving, feign service and offend, and they then offend most when they serve most and best, because they then most set aside and pervert the will and order of their master; and these comprise all those who are not regenerated by the Holy Spirit. The third ten serve like obedient children, neither setting aside nor changing their master's will and order, and they serve both with body and mind; and these are the men regenerated by the Holy Spirit, without which regeneration it is impossible for men to be brought to this position. And, therefore, well does St. Paul say that the flesh is enmity against God, and is not subject to the law and will of God, neither indeed can be, even if it wished to be so; for man, elated with his own wisdom and his own reason, aims at correcting the works of God; and because self-enamoured, he has but self in view in everything he does.

In order to render this more intelligible, I say that by regeneration I understand that change and renovation, both external and internal, which the Holy Spirit works out in them who, believing in Christ, and accepting as their own God's justice executed upon Christ, are changed and renewed in all their affections ; so that they do not aim to indulge their appetites, nor give way to the violence of their passions as they did before their regeneration, having given up the notion of desiring to correct the works of God, and having lost that self-love in which they previously indulged themselves—as if one of the ten slaves of the second order should pass over into the number of the ten of the third order. I understand that men who aim, by human skill and device, to change and renew themselves, do not attain this Christian regeneration, but that only which is human, which is of the flesh and of wisdom, and is human reason, as was that of some Gentile philosophers ; because in Christian reason the Holy Spirit alone takes part—nay, it is only to that extent regeneration and renovation as it is the work of the Holy Spirit ; that is to say, in so far as the Holy Spirit Himself operates it in the man, when he, feeling his election and calling, and leaving the Holy Spirit to work in him, without aiming to work himself, or to follow his own judgment or his own opinion in anything—when he thinks himself farther from his regeneration and renovation, he finds himself to be nearest, most entire, and most perfect in it. And this is the regeneration and the renovation which St. Paul says the Holy Spirit works in them who are true Christians ; and this is the very same which was spoken of to Nicodemus in John iii. by the Son of God Himself, Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XXVII.

The Christian's resolution is upheld by mortification ; and by submission of the mind to God, is man kept assured of the providence of God.

THE man who, being called by God, feeling his vocation, and responding to it, devotes himself energetically to religion, is, I understand, in the first place, moved to resolve with himself relatively to the world that he will have no greater share in its dignities and esteem than it shall please God for him to have ; and is moved to resolve relatively to himself, not to desire any greater comforts for his body, or to be better off in outward circumstances, than it shall please God that he should be.

Again, I understand that man can neither uphold himself in his resolution with reference to the world, unless he mortify his indwelling affections of ambition, avarice, and personal reputation ; nor can he uphold his resolution with reference to himself, unless he mortify his indwelling sensual appetites : and therefore after the perception of his vocation has moved him to the two resolutions, the perception of the faith to which he is called, together with the Holy Spirit, which by faith is communicated to him, mortify those affections in him which might hinder and disturb his resolution as to the world, and the

lusts which might impede and hinder his resolution as to himself. So that faith and the Holy Spirit mortify man's affections and lusts in order to maintain and uphold in him those resolutions which, through his vocation, he has made with regard to the world and to himself. Whence I understand that a pious man's feeling himself tempted by ambition and self-esteem, is not a sign of not being resolute as to the world, but of not having mortified his affections. Likewise, I understand that a pious person's feeling himself tempted by sensual pleasures, is no sign of not being resolute as to himself, but of not having mortified his lusts. And thus I conclude that the pious person, responding to his vocation, has formed his resolve as to the world and as to himself, and, desiring to maintain his resolution, should apply himself earnestly to mortification, which, as has been said, keeps men up to their resolution.

Similarly I understand that the same vocation of God moves the man called, to approve God's particular providence in all things, he holding it as certain that they are all His works, in which His will particularly concurs. And I understand that the faith to which man is called, and the Holy Spirit, which by faith is communicated to man, make him contented with all that happens to him, whether good or evil, he holding it all to be good, in order that he may be upheld and maintained in that assurance, in which he could not be sustained unless he were brought to that state.

And here, again, I understand that for a pious person to repine at the evils that befall the body, is no sign of his wanting assurance in God's providence, but of his not having brought his mind to be contented with God's dealings. And thus I conclude in

reference to this subject, that together with a man's applying himself earnestly to the mortification of his affections and of his lusts, he ought to apply himself vigorously to bring his mind to this conformity with the will of God ; for by maintaining his inward resolutions in this manner, he will also maintain his assurance of God's providence, and will likewise maintain himself in piety, righteousness, and holiness, which is acquired by believing in Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XXVIII.

How a man may attain assurance of his vocation.

BECAUSE I understand it to be of great importance that a man be certain of having been called by God to the grace of the Gospel of Christ, to the end that by faith in Christ, he may obtain immortality and eternal life—inasmuch as this certainty operates in him resolution as to the world and as to himself, and the mortification by which his resolution is maintained—I proceed to say, that the person who shall not have had a vocation, a call as evident and as clear as was that of St. Paul after the coming of the Holy Spirit ; or as was that of the Apostles whilst Christ walked amongst men ; nor as efficient and powerful as in some individuals, in whom, although it be inward, its effects are so evident that it

countervails an outward one ; but he shall have had a call calm and subdued, as is the case with certain persons, in whom, it being inward and incapable of demonstration by outward indications, for that they themselves are without external demonstrations in their affections and appetites—I say that such a person may attain certainty of his call by the perception of his justification by faith. I mean to say, that when a person, being moved to Christian piety, or, having marked the movement, shall doubt as to whether he was moved by God's call or by the stimulus of self-love—finding in himself any perception of justification by faith, that is to say, of the peace of conscience which they obtain, who, by believing, make God's righteousness their own, such a one may well rest assured that his impulse to piety was God's call, and not a project of human wisdom ; this being certain, that only they who are called by God experience in themselves the benefit of the justice of God executed upon Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XXIX.

To believe with difficulty is a sign of vocation.

THE facility with which those persons believe the objects of Christian faith, who believe them as matter of opinion, of report, and of persuasion, and the difficulty with which other persons believe, who believe them by inspiration and revelation, has brought me to this consideration—that they who believe by report, amongst some things true, believe many that are false, and they are even more ready to believe the false than the true; and they who believe by revelation, believe only the true, and admit none of the false: so that difficulty of belief is rather a sign of vocation than facility. He who believes by revelation believes as much as he feels; and because he finds contradictions in what he does not feel, he believes what is inspired and revealed to him—nor this always, but then only when the revelation, the inspiration, and the inward experience, are vivid and perfect. Christ calls those who attain this faith, blessed; and these are they who are the children of God. And this is the faith that ever has charity and hope in its train, and is that without which it is impossible to please God, and that which purifies the heart, cleansing and quickening it. May our Almighty God enrich us with it, through Jesus Christ our Lord!

CONSIDERATION XXX.

That God deals with us in communicating to us spiritual things, as He does in His mode of giving us the fruits of the earth.

AT times, when making my reckoning with God, I address Him thus : 'Why, Lord, when Thou callest a person to Thy kingdom, dost Thou not at once cause him to experience justification ? why dost Thou not at once give him Thy Holy Spirit to rule and govern him ? why dost Thou not at once vouchsafe him Thy presence ?' To this, it seems to me, He may answer, saying, 'For the same reason that, when a man sows corn, I do not cause it to spring up at once ; and this in order that it may be harvested.' 'This' (I say) 'is the curse of sin ;' 'and this other' (He says) 'is likewise through the curse of sin.' I say, 'Since Thou hast done so with St. Paul and some others, why dost Thou not generally deal so with all ?' 'For the same reason' (He says), 'that at times I have given men bread without its having been produced in the ordinary manner, desiring in both instances to manifest my omnipotence.' 'As those persons, Lord' (I say), 'to whom Thou hast given bread in an extraordinary manner, are more grateful for that bread, derived from Thy bounty, than they

who have it in an ordinary mode ; so likewise all Thy elect would be more grateful to Thy bounty for inward gifts, wert Thou to deal with them as Thou didst with St. Paul, rather than by guiding them, as Thou dost guide them, in an ordinary manner.' 'It is my will' (He says), 'that both be grateful to me for what they get in the ordinary manner, and so much the more when it seems to them that they have acquired it by industry and effort ; because it is my will in this, that they mortify the judgment of their human wisdom, which mortification would not be necessary had they received these things from me in an extraordinary manner. I will that the labourer till the earth and sow the seed, and it is my will that he attribute to me the fruit of his labours. In like manner it is my will that spiritual persons striving and labouring, surrender themselves to believe and to love, and that they thus obtain justification and the Holy Spirit, and it is my will that they attribute it all to me. And regard thou it as certain, that as the husbandman would presume to anticipate a large crop who should think that he had water at command when he might desire it, and sunshine when he might desire it ; so the spiritual person would be equally presuming who should think to increase greatly in piety, were inspiration at his command whenever he might desire it. Wherefore, regard it as certain, that he receives in the best mode who freely resigns himself up to me without the least opposition, and without a thought of controlling that by himself which ought to be controlled by me.' With these considerations I set my mind at ease when I find it impatient, and but little disposed to wait upon God, committing myself to my God in everything and in every way, assured that

He governs men and will govern me in this Christian affair, as my necessity requires, by His only begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XXXI.

That vivacity of the affections is more injurious than vivacity of appetites, and that both must be slain.

EXAMINING in what vivacity of the affections and appetites properly consists, and when this vivacity offends and when it does not offend; and having proved that vivacity of the affections consists in the inward satisfaction that is after the flesh—that is, when the man lives and is wholly wrapped up in tasting with the mental senses the things which savour of the world, such as its honours and vaunted glories, and especially its estimation and repute; and understanding that vivacity of the appetites consists in the outward satisfaction—that is, when the man lives and is wholly wrapped up in tasting with the five bodily senses the things that flatter and gratify sensuality—and concluding that this vivacity of the affections and of the appetites then injures, when he who has it neither knows it nor understands it, nor holds it to be either a vice or a defect; and that it does not then injure when he who has it knows it and understands it, and, holding it to be a defect and a vice, goes on gradually to bridle and mortify it—I proceed to consider which is the more injurious and the more opposed to the

Holy Spirit, the vivacity of the affections or that of the appetites.

In resolving this question, I come first to consider that vivacity of the affections keeps the inward man alive to worldly things, and that vivacity of the appetites keeps the outward man alive to things of the flesh ; and I understand that in proportion as the mind is more worthy than the body, is vivacity of the affections more prejudicial, and more opposed to the Spirit, than that of the appetites. Then I consider thus : A person shall go to a fête for his own satisfaction—I mean to say, to satisfy his appetites, the sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch—and another shall go to discharge his duty to the world, for the satisfaction of the party who gives the entertainment. And it will appear that the eagerness will be greater in him that goes for his own satisfaction, than in him who goes to gratify another ; but in truth it is not so—because, were the affections of self-esteem and worldly honour not lively in the man who goes to gratify another, he would not go ; so that, although he does not go there drawn by his appetites, he does go drawn by his affections, and by those of the persons whom he desires to please. It being true that the person who goes for his own satisfaction, gratifies his own appetites, and that the other who goes for another's satisfaction, gratifies his own and another's affections ; it is clear that the satisfaction of the affections is more injurious, and more contrary to the Spirit, than that of the appetites. Moreover, I consider that, in the eyes of human wisdom, he is rebuked and censured who is unbridled in the vivacity of his appetites, and he is praised and honoured who is moderate and temperate in them, whilst he is held to be a saint who has

wholly mortified them. And, on the other hand, he is esteemed and prized who keeps alive his sentiments of honour and self-esteem ; and he is looked upon as vile and mean who practises mortification in all these. Now, it being true that what appears great in the eyes of human wisdom ever appears small in the sight of the Holy Spirit, and that what appears great to the Holy Spirit ever appears small to human wisdom, it will justly follow that human wisdom holding the appetites to be more injurious than the affections, the Holy Spirit will hold the affections to be more injurious than the appetites. Many other things might be taken into consideration to confirm this ; but these are quite sufficient for my purpose, which is this—that the person who is intent upon becoming like Christ and like God, and to comprehend the Christian perfection to which he is engaged, through the membership by which he is incorporated into Christ, must apply himself to the mortification of his affections and appetites, ever keeping a strict account with them, in order to slay them, whenever they show themselves lively ; but let him principally devote himself to the mortification of his affections, as well on account of what we have spoken, as likewise because the appetites die upon the death of the affections, but the affections do not die upon the death of the appetites ; on the contrary, it comes to pass that the evil affections revive upon the death of the appetites, because, as has been said, the mortification of the appetites is greatly esteemed in the eyes of human wisdom.

Here I understand that when a man slays his affections by human wisdom and effort, holding light the world's honour and reputation, he becomes vicious and licentious, because the appetites live and

become unbridled ; and that when another person slays his affections by the Holy Spirit, he at the same time slays his appetites, by which test many designs and movements pertaining to contempt of the world may be judged, whether they proceed from the human spirit or from the Holy Spirit.

Fain would I wish that my affections and appetites were wholly dead within me, so that neither my mind should enjoy anything that is not spiritual and divine, nor my body partake of worldly things more than might suffice to sustain and maintain it in the world what time God has ordained that it should live in it. But were I to give loose to my passions in anything—were some carnal desire to seize upon me, that of the appetites would displease me less than that of the affections. I mean to say, that I should hold it to be less inconvenient to discover in myself some intensity of the appetites, and to gratify myself in them, than to discover in myself some intensity of the affections, and to gratify myself and others in them ; nay, if public shame and the evil example to spiritual persons could not restrain me, scarcely should I be able to contain myself at times from giving way to satisfy my appetites, feeling assured that I should in that way mortify the affections the more speedily, and that, the affections dying, the appetites would die at the same time with them.

I will add this, that the affections are mortified when a man, having the ability to increase in honour and in repute, and in great credit with men, does not seek to do so, but renounces it altogether ; and that the appetites are mortified when a man may with propriety gratify them, and yet does not gratify them. He who mortifies his appetites, slays his flesh ; and he who mortifies his affections, crucifies himself

wholly with Jesus Christ our Lord, saying, that in gratifying my appetites occasionally I should be reminded to mortify my affections. I understand that the shame and confusion deservedly attaching itself to me, in connection with the gratification of my appetites, would bring it to pass that I should not think of carrying out my affections; and that it would keep me from further gratification of my appetites, I feel assured, as many inwardly experience who strive after the Spirit, and it is of such only that I speak here.

CONSIDERATION XXXII.

In what consists the abuse, and in what consists the use,
of Images and of the Scriptures.

I UNDERSTAND that learned men, without the Spirit, suffer, with reference to the Holy Scriptures, the same illusion that unlearned men, without the Spirit, do with images. And it is in this way: An ignorant man keeps a crucifix in his room, in order by its aid to recall what Christ suffered every time he enters it; and because he finds the memorial both piously and religiously suggestive, he sets up similar images in every part of his house; and being assured that every time he passes through the house, every time he goes to church, and frequently in various parts of the town, he will find similar images, that will bring to his memory what Christ suffered, he does not seek to imprint Christ crucified upon his mind, resting

satisfied with seeing Him portrayed ; and so long as he does not keep Him in his mind, he neither experiences nor tastes the benefit of Christ's passion. And it comes to pass that when this unlearned man is moved to solicit something of Christ, that because it appears to him to be enough to look upon Him portrayed to his bodily eyes, he has no desire to raise his mind to the contemplation of Him with his spiritual eyes, so that it may be said, that he does not invoke Christ, but that effigy.

Just so, a learned man, without the Spirit, has in Holy Scripture everything recorded that pertains to the Christian—what he ought to believe and what he ought to do ; so that, every time he opens his book, he understands both the one and the other. And because this appears to him sufficient, he exhausts all his study and all his diligence in procuring many books expository of the Sacred Scriptures, but he is not solicitous to imprint on his mind what he reads and what he studies in holy writ, nor to form his opinions and conceptions upon topics affecting the Christian religion by what he there reads and studies. And it comes to pass that when he is moved by desire to understand some divine mystery, and things in their nature spiritual, expecting to find them in Holy Scripture, he does not raise his mind in prayer to God, that He would show and teach him ; so that, not holding the Spirit of God in his eye, he mistakes the teaching of his own mind and his own nature for what those men wrote who had the Spirit of God. And if they thus suffer illusion who deal with the Scriptures written by the Holy Spirit, we may think how great will be the illusion of those who deal with writings dictated by the spirit of man. The unlearned man, who has the Spirit, employs

images as the Alphabet of Christian piety ; since he employs the portraiture of Christ crucified, as much as may suffice to imprint on his mind what Christ suffered, and to taste and feel the benefit of Christ. And when he has imprinted it and tastes it, and feels it, he cares no longer for the portraiture, leaving it to serve as an alphabet to other beginners ; and when he has Christ in his soul—when he is inspired to ask something of Christ, he does not desire to fix his bodily eyes upon a portrait, but his spiritual ones upon the impression he keeps in his mind. In the same manner, the learned man, who has the Spirit, employs the Holy Scriptures as an Alphabet of Christian piety, wherein he reads what relates to piety, until his mind is penetrated with it—until he tastes and feels it, not with human judgment and skill, but with his own mind, in which he imprints those conceptions and those actions of God which are written there ; so that when he desires to understand some divine mystery, he goes first of all to the Book of his mind—he first consults with the Spirit of God—and then he goes to compare what he has learned with what is written in those holy books ; so that, having availed himself at the beginning of the Holy Scriptures as of an Alphabet, he then leaves them for other beginners to do the same. He himself attends to the inward inspirations, retaining God's own Spirit as his master, availing himself of the Sacred Scriptures as a kind of holy conversation, that refreshes him, entirely putting from himself all writings dictated by the spirit of man. And thus in the instance of the unlearned, gifted with the Spirit, as well as in that of the learned, gifted with the Spirit, I understand that both in this manner fulfil what was prophesied of the Gospel epoch, where it

says, in Isaiah liv., 'They shall be all taught of God,' *Erunt omnes docti à Deo*,—as those persons experience who obtain the Spirit that is communicated by Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XXXIII.

In what manner we, by patience and comfort of the Scriptures, maintain ourselves in hope.

ACCORDING to St. Paul (Rom. xv. 4), we who in this life are in the kingdom of God, maintain ourselves in the hope of eternal life by patience and comfort of the Scriptures. Patience consists in this—that although the fulfilment of what we desire appear tardy, we fortify our minds by hope more and more, never resigning our confidence. And comfort of the Scriptures consists in this—that reading in them the promises of God, we are anew confirmed and strengthened in hope. Our case resembles that of a man to whom a nobleman engages by letter to pay 1,000 ducats a year. The man cherishes the hope of receiving that income, by patience strengthening his heart; more and more by hope, when it appears to him that the fulfilment of the promise is delayed; never parting with hope, and comforting himself with the nobleman's letter by reading the promise, in which he comforts himself anew in his hope, and once more confirms himself in his confidence of obtaining the income which has been promised him.

I mean to say, that just as this man, by bearing the delay, and by reading his letter, keeps himself up until the promise is fulfilled ; so we, enduring the delay of Christ's second coming, and by reading Holy Scripture, confirm ourselves in our hope, until at length we attain unto life eternal, which is promised us by Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XXXIV.

In what the benefit consists that men have obtained from God through Christ.

A WEALTHY proprietor has a vicious and ill-disposed female slave, and she has children as vicious and as ill-disposed as herself. Such being their character, he would not for any time keep them in his house ; but afterwards, and under some peculiar circumstances, he is pleased to keep and maintain some of them in his household, and, to induce them to remain, he is pleased to treat them as sons. And because he knows their evil inclinations, and sees that, if he deals with them hardly, it would be impossible for them to remain in the house, he not only overlooks their being born of a vicious and ill-disposed slave—because he made up his mind as to this when he received them into the house—but he also pardons all their future vicious and base practices to which they were prone and subject by the evil tendencies with which they were born. And they, with their lord's kind treatment,

who has made himself father to them, together with the good habits which they acquire by remaining in his household, gradually lose what they inherited from their old and wicked mother, and progressively acquire what they see in their new and good father ; and thus they come to be heirs of the property of their lord, who has made himself their father.

In this similitude I set forth in what the benefit of Christ to men consists. The wealthy proprietor is God ; the wicked female slave is human nature, first depraved in the fall ; the children are mankind. The household of God is the kingdom of God ; the season in which God admits men into His kingdom is the Gospel epoch ; the peculiar circumstances are the execution of God's justice upon Jesus Christ our Lord ; on account of this, God is pleased to admit into His kingdom those who come to Him, and to accept them as children, and to treat them as sons. And because He knows their wicked inclination, and sees that, were He to deal harshly with them, it would be impossible for them to remain in His kingdom, He not only overlooks the vice of the depraved nature with which we are born, which is original sin—because as to original sin, He pardons them when He admits them to His kingdom—but all their subsequent vicious and base practices to which they were prone and subject by the wicked inclination with which they were born, which is peculiar and natural to them, whilst they in the meantime go on to combat with and resist it. Whence, by the favour of God, who, from being their Lord is become their Father, converting them from slaves into children, and with the good habits which they acquire by remaining in the kingdom of God, they by degrees lose the characteristics of the old evil and vicious mother, and pro-

gressively acquire that which they see in their new good and divine Father, ceasing to resemble and to be like their mother. And as, prior to their entrance into the kingdom of God, they bore and represented in themselves the image and similitude of depraved nature; just so, having entered into the kingdom of God, they bear and represent in themselves the image and likeness of God, recovering that which the first man lost. By this I understand how man was created in the image and likeness of God, and in what the benefit consists which men have received through Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XXXV.

Whence the difficulty arises, experienced by pious persons,
of continuing in a course of piety and justification.

CONSIDERING that religious duty insists upon a man's approbation of all that God does—persuading himself and holding surely that all God does is good, holy, and just—and believing that all which happens in this present life happens through Divine Providence, and that nothing happens by chance; and considering that it is the duty of Christian faith to accept from the heart and confess with the mouth the Gospel of Jesus Christ our Lord (Rom. x. 9); and seeing, on the one hand, in many men destitute of the Spirit, much conformity to the will of God, so that they neither grieve nor do they bewail im-

moderately either the death of those whom they greatly love, or the loss of property, or the loss of honour, and that they resign themselves contentedly to death ; and seeing likewise, in many other men destitute of the Spirit, ample acceptance and ample confession of the Gospel, never calling it in question in any way ; and seeing, on the other hand, that some spiritual persons do grieve, do feel excessively, and do bewail the death of persons whom they love, and other troubles that befall them, and that they cannot bring themselves to be willing to die, and that they feel the loss of property and the loss of honour ; and seeing again in other persons that have the Spirit, great wavering in the acceptance and confession of the Gospel, so that they are wholly unable to assure and confirm themselves in it,—I have frequently occupied myself in considering the causes whence such contrary effects proceed ; since it appears that there ought to be no conformity with the will of God in him who has not the Spirit, neither ought he to believe in the Gospel ; whilst both these ought to be found in him who has the Spirit. And after having considered it, I understand that the will, although it may at times contradict the flesh to some small extent, nevertheless it suffers itself at length to be conquered and subjugated by it ; for there being, in the man who has not the Spirit, an affection of the flesh, as well in the desire to be conformed to the will of God, as also to grieve, sorrow, and bewail himself at the troubles which present themselves in this present life, it comes to pass, that one affection conquering the other, it appears as if such a man conformed himself to the will of God ; and it is not true, because he does not conform unless it be to his own will, with which he, for his own gratification and for his own

designs, deliberates how he may please self in everything, when conforming himself to the will of God in everything.

That this is true, we read in many books of pagan authors, and we hear and see it in many other nations, some wholly infidel, and others feigning to be believers. Precisely so, I understand the acceptance and confession of the Gospel, as likewise the refusal to accept or confess it upon the part of a man who has not the Spirit, to be a carnal affection : it comes to pass that, one affection getting the mastery over another, it appears as if such a man believed in the Gospel, and it is not true, because he believes but in his opinion and imagination, as the Jew pertinaciously stands to his Law, and as the Moor believes in his Alcoran.

On the other hand, I understand that the flesh ever resists the Spirit, ever contradicts and ever withstands it, through the intense enmity there is between the two. Whence it comes to pass that, there being in the man who has the Spirit, as an affection of the Spirit, the desire to be conformed to the will of God, the approbation of all that God does, resistance to and strife with the flesh, without allowing it to get the victory unless after a considerable time, it comes to pass that the man who has the Spirit grieves, feels excessively, and is vexed by his personal troubles, and by everything else that causes the flesh to suffer, and above everything by death. Thus, as we see, the saints under the Law afflicted themselves ; and thus as St. Paul, a New Testament saint, would have felt, as he himself says in Phil. ii. 27, if his friend had died ; and thus the Son of God Himself, Jesus Christ our Lord, deeply felt (John xi. 35).

Just so I understand that, in a man who has the Spirit, the wish to accept and confess the Gospel, combating and contradicting the flesh, because it does not share that desire and that wish, is an affection of the Spirit; it comes to pass that the man who has the Spirit feels weak in faith, goes on wavering and hesitating in it—as we read of some saints, and as we ourselves see in others. So that just as appearances of piety and appearances of faith present themselves in those who have not the Spirit, through the little contradiction there is between carnal affections, so weakness of faith is found in those that have the Spirit, through the great contradiction there is between flesh and Spirit—that taking place in an individual, which in the world takes place in a province and in a republic. I mean to say that as, when a person moved by the Spirit says or publishes anything, he presently encounters opposition, contradiction, and outward persecution, although it be a thing commonly said and practised, but without the Spirit and by human affection; so likewise, when a person moved by the Spirit would fain attain conviction and confirmation with reference to some topic affecting piety, or justification, he presently encounters inward opposition and contradiction, because his affections and his appetites, which are mortal enemies of the Spirit, revolt against him. And this happens, likewise, when such a thing has in time past been received and believed by him from his own impulse and from his own opinion.

Whence I come to this conclusion—that it is a sign that the Holy Spirit is He who works in man, who prompts him to seek and desire to be largely endowed with piety and faith, when a man in all this

finds within himself great opposition and contradiction, and when he experiences the same in his external relations with men. And I conclude that we ought to labour and strive greatly in this opposition and in this fight,—but without being afflicted and saddened because the flesh, with all its affections, retains its vitality,—that the Holy Spirit may have the victory and be the conqueror: for it is not fit that the son of the bondwoman, which is the flesh, should be heir with the son of the freewoman, which is the Spirit, of those blessings which properly belong to the Spirit (Gal. iv. 30)—that is, of the knowledge of God in this present life, and of the vision of God in the life eternal. And when I say flesh, I mean the affection of the flesh; that which men receive from Adam—which must all die in us, in order that all that may live which it is possible for us to receive from Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XXXVI.

In what Christian liberty consists—how it is known and how it is exercised.

To understand well in what Christian liberty consists, how it is to be known and how experienced, it is very important, in the first place, to understand in what Jewish bondage consists, how it was understood and how it was experienced. I understand that Jewish bondage proceeded from the precepts of the

Law, which, by threats and promises, kept men in bondage, and treated them like slaves. Amongst the Jewish people there were some who applied themselves to the Law from inspiration, and others from opinion; and there were, moreover, others who cared nothing about the Law, living licentiously; they knew nothing of Jewish bondage, neither did they exercise themselves in it. They who applied themselves to the Law from opinion, being desirous, and endeavouring that the threats with which the Law menaced transgressors should not be carried out upon them, and that the promises which the Law made to them who should obey it should be accomplished in them—they knew the Jewish bondage, but did not put it in practice as was right; because, being ruled by their own spirit, they were in some things most superstitious, and in others most licentious. They who applied themselves to the Law from inspiration, and exercised themselves in it as was right, desiring its promises and fearing its threats,—these knew the Jewish bondage, seeing that they must ever remain bound to the Law; and they exercised themselves in it as was fit, holding themselves to be bondsmen and dependent upon the will of God, because being ruled by the Holy Spirit, who inspired them to fulfil the Law, they became pious, holy, and just. Thus Jewish bondage was brought about by the Law, and was known when men applied themselves to the observance of the Law, and was exercised when the application proceeded from the Holy Spirit. On the other hand, Christian liberty consists in the abrogation of the Law, which was wholly abrogated at the coming of the Holy Spirit, who succeeded to the government of the people of God, superseding the Law.

There are amongst those who bear the Christian name some who experience this liberty by the Holy Spirit ; there are others, who by the spirit of man speculate about it ; and there are those who neither experience nor speculate about it. They who neither experience it nor speculate about it, resemble in each and every particular those amongst the Jewish people who speculated upon the bondage of the Law, being in all and everything most superstitious, making it matter of duty, and binding themselves not only to what they think to be the law of God, but likewise to that which they know to be the law of man. And besides this, they bring themselves under obligation to other laws, and bind themselves by them ; so that they neither know in what Christian liberty does consist, nor do they know it or exercise it, living, poor wretches, in miserable and hard bondage. Those who by the spirit of man speculate upon Christian liberty, are very similar to those of the Jewish nation who disregarded the Law : these, throwing off every restraint, live licentiously, neither knowing nor exercising Christian liberty as is right ; these are ordinarily impious and most vicious. And I understand that they speculate upon Christian liberty with the spirit of man, who, availing themselves of their own wit and judgment, and of what they hear and read, hold the Christian to be free ; and these persons, never considering whether they themselves are Christians of such a stamp that Christian liberty belongs to them, substitute carnal licentiousness for Christian liberty. They who by the Holy Spirit experience Christian liberty, strongly resemble those amongst the Jewish people who by the Holy Spirit applied themselves to the Law : these know that Christian liberty consists in this, that the Christian

will not be punished for living ill, nor will he be rewarded for living well, knowing that chastisement is for unbelievers, and reward for believers, since God will punish those who will not believe in Christ, and not believing in Him will not accept the covenant which He established between God and men ; and that He will reward those who will believe in Christ and accept Christ's covenant.

They who know Christian liberty in this manner, disregarding both chastisement and reward, and being careful to preserve the personal decorum of the character they have to sustain in this life, which is, that of being members of Christ, the most perfect Head, and of living in this transitory world a life like that which they have to live in the life eternal, these exercise Christian liberty properly. Because, governed by the Holy Spirit, on the one hand they find and know themselves to be free and exempted from the Law, to such an extent that it appears to them that they may say with St. Paul, 'Omnia mihi licent,' 'all things are indeed lawful for me,' neither fearing to be chastised for transgression, nor hoping to be rewarded for obedience, wherein they experience and know Christian liberty ; and on the other hand, they find and know themselves obliged to be like Christ in their life and conduct, and therefore they say with St. Paul, 'Non omnia expediunt,' 'all things are not expedient' (1 Cor. vi. 12) ; and abiding by this rule, they exercise themselves in Christian liberty. So that Christian liberty consists in the abrogation of the Law, and is known, when men neither fear chastisement for the transgression of the Law, nor pretend to reward for obedience to it ; and it is rightly practised when men observe the propriety peculiar to a Christian, who is a member of Christ, and is bound

to be strictly conformed to Christ in everything belonging to him.

From all this I gather that—since men, speculating upon Christian liberty with the spirit of man, with ability and judgment, become vicious and wicked, and misapprehending it, make themselves superstitious and wretched; and since men understanding it, knowing it, proving it, and exercising it with the Holy Spirit, become holy, pious, and just, making themselves very like our Lord Christ—it is well that a man apply himself to understand Christian liberty, asking of God His Holy Spirit to cause him both to know and feel it, and likewise to lead him to exercise it. And in this way, neither his ignorance of it will make him live superstitiously and miserably, nor will the knowledge of it by the spirit of man make him live licentiously in habits and impiously in mind; and understanding it, knowing it, and exercising it, he will be enabled to live without fear before God in holiness and righteousness all the days of his life, and will afterwards be placed glorious in life eternal with Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XXXVII.

That they who know God by human representations form a false opinion of Him, whilst they who know Him through the Holy Spirit form a just one.

THIS is ever true, that men form their opinions and conceptions of things they do not know, according to the report and information concerning them furnished by men. And so it is that, when we hear that a man lavishes his affections upon all that he sees, we take him to be vain; hearing that he is fond of receiving money and presents, we set him down as sordid; hearing that if offended he does not pardon, we regard him as cruel, inhuman, vindictive. If it happen that we need the services of such a man, it is also ever true that we try to gain his goodwill by those things which correspond with the notions and conceptions that we have formed of him by hearsay; in which we continue and persevere until, getting on terms of intimacy with him, we gradually acquire other notions and conceptions that harmonise with our personal knowledge; and so it follows, that now we do not strive to gain his goodwill by those things which we had been wont to do according to hearsay, but by those things which our own knowledge has taught us to be suitable.

The same thing occurs to us in reference to God. Men, deceived by human philosophy, by human wisdom and reason, which never attain to the knowledge of God, and chiefly misled by superstition and false religion, represent God to us as so fastidious and irascible, that He is offended at every thing; as so vindictive, that He punishes all offences; as so cruel, that He chastises with eternal punishment; as so inhuman, that He takes pleasure in our maltreating our bodies to the extent of shedding our own blood, that which He gave us, and in divesting ourselves of our property, which He gave us, in order that by its help we might sustain ourselves in this life; as taking pleasure in our going naked and barefoot, in continual suffering; as vain, and gratified by presents, and as pleased with gold and gorgeous apparel; and, in short, as delighting in all those things which delight a tyrant, and which He is gratified to have at the hands of those who are subject to Him.

We form our notions and conceptions of God by these representations which men make to us of God, and so much the more as we find that which men tell us by word of mouth written by men in their works. And so because, when we begin to read Holy Scripture, we, fully as much as they, have already conceived that opinion of God, and formed these notions of Him, it comes to pass that, not gathering the true fruit of Holy Writ, which consists in knowing God, but on the contrary straining it, and understanding it according to that opinion and these notions which we entertain through men's representations to us,—it comes to pass that, the Holy Scripture being a report of the Holy Spirit, by means of which we might conceive a true judgment

and correct conceptions of God, we treat it as the representations of men, as if it expressed, not what the Holy Spirit designs, but what human ignorance fondly imagines.

Hence it arises that men, knowing their need of God, because they hold Him to be sensitive, revengeful, and cruel, live in constant scrupulosity, in continual fear and terror, feelings which are wont to generate hatred. Because we hold Him to be inhuman, we maltreat our bodies with fasts, with vigils, with penances, and all the other things which are abhorrent to the flesh, and by such means we think greatly to please God ; because we hold Him to be sordid, we sacrifice our property to Him, and decorate Him with golden ornaments and jewels ; and finally, because we hold Him to be a tyrant, we regulate ourselves with reference to Him in all and everything as we regulate ourselves with those that are tyrants. And we continue to be thus affected towards God as long as we form our opinions and our conceptions of God by the representations we get from men. Hence I understand, that as long as a man strives to obtain God's goodwill by these means, he clearly shows that the opinion and conception which he holds of God is based upon men's representations. And if any one shall say to me, ' I do these things out of conformity to others, but I do not rely upon or at all value them ; ' I shall reply, that it is a most difficult thing to know whether he confide in them or not ; and I shall say to him, ' Wouldest thou, brother, understand whether thou confidest in them or not ? examine well whether thou findest satisfaction in doing them or not ; whether thou entertainest a good opinion of those who do them, or not ; and whether thou hast a

bad opinion of those who do not do them, or not. And thus wilt thou understand whether thou confidest in them or not ; and, finding that thou dost confide in them, hold it for certain that the opinion and conception that thou hast of God is based upon man's representations.'

They who, by accepting the Gospel, and who, by the covenant of justification established by Jesus Christ our Lord, are made sons of God, and, sustaining intimate relations with God, know God and acquire a fresh opinion of God and form new conceptions of God, not indeed by report, but by knowledge and by experience—when these persons have recourse to the Holy Scriptures with their fresh opinion and their new conceptions, they find that written in them which they know and experience. These persons understand that God is patient, merciful, slow to anger, and alien to vengeance, unless towards them who are vessels of wrath, whom God still for a while tolerates and bears with. Understanding this, they banish from their minds scruples, fears, and terrors ; they understand that God is so humane, that to give men eternal life, He sent His only-begotten Son, made man, into the world, upon whom He executed the rigour of His justice. Whence they know that He takes no pleasure in men's maltreatment of their own bodies, but desires that they should be so divested of self-love, that whenever they are maltreated, they neither bewail nor resent it ; and that He does not will that they deprive themselves of their property, but that they possess it in such manner that whenever deprived of it they do not take it ill nor vex themselves ; and that, when it is necessary to resign it, by God's calling them to the ministry and manifestation of the

Gospel, they immediately resign it, and deprive themselves of it. Finally, these persons, holding this fresh opinion and these new conceptions of God, recognising God first in Christ, are just and holy ; and, knowing that God is pleased with justice and holiness, they serve Him in righteousness and holiness. Moreover, recognising God in all these natural things, they acquiesce in everything, in whatever way it may turn out ; they willingly follow the course of things that God has established, without being grieved or vexed by anything that may betide them, holding all God's ways to be good, just, and holy, though, at the very same time, they may be judged the reverse by human wisdom. And because they know that God is pleased with this obedience and this mortification of human wisdom, their service, characterised by obedience and mortification, is stamped with piety. They persevere in this, whilst they continue in the opinion and conceptions of God which are obtained by communion with Him, by the knowledge and experience which they have of God having accepted the covenant of justification established by Jesus Christ our Lord.

I understand that they not only find no satisfaction in the things done by them whose opinion and conception of God are founded upon the representations of men, but, if they are constrained to do them, feel displeasure and dissatisfaction ; and this displeasure and dissatisfaction in these matters I judge to be a good indication whereby to know that the man has already lost the opinion and conceptions of God which are derived from men's representations, and that he has acquired the opinion and conceptions of God derived from intimacy with, and knowledge of God,

and by the experience of those things which are effected by the Spirit of God.

By this consideration I am brought to understand the reason why, to a person beginning to hold communion with God, and to have experience in the things of the Spirit of God, it should seem as if the knowledge of God were being daily renewed in him, that is, that he comes to know God afresh. And it is because he retains for a long while the opinion and conception of God obtained by men's representations stamped upon the mind, and because he is unable to strip himself of them at once, that he proceeds to lay them aside gradually, and goes on by degrees to receive the opinion and conception of God given since, by the Spirit of God; whence it appears to him that he makes as many changes in the knowledge of God, as are the variations which he makes in ridding himself of the old opinion and conceptions of God, and in putting on the fresh opinion and new conceptions of God. And because it is still more agreeable to depraved nature to remain in the first than in the second, in the old than in the new, in that of Adam than in that of Christ, in that of the Law than in that of the Gospel; I understand that it is with difficulty that a man strips himself of the old, and puts on the new. And I understand that it is the duty of a man regenerated and renewed by the Holy Spirit to keep his mind, throughout the whole course of his life, intent upon stripping off the opinion and conceptions of God acquired by men's representations, and in putting on that opinion and those conceptions of God which emanate from the Holy Spirit, whom we receive through Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XXXVIII.

Shows by a similitude wherein the error of false Christians consists, and what that is which true Christians do.

IT is certain that we all should judge and hold those persons very stupid and very foolish who, finding themselves banished from a kingdom on account of their misdeeds, and having letters patent issued by their king, subscribed with his sign-manual, and sealed with his seal, presented to them, whereby he pardoned them and enabled them to return to the kingdom ; if taking up the patent, and recognising their king's hand and seal in it, they should neglect to return to the kingdom, and occupy themselves in examining whether the seal with which the patent was sealed was of gold or of brass, and spend their time in worshipping it and doing it honour, while they remained in exile, deprived of the kingdom, and of the king's favour ; striving by other means and ways to obtain precisely what the king graciously and freely has given them by his patent, which they have received, read, and recognised, and which they adore and look upon reverentially, doing in reference to it, and with it, what is of no importance to them so far as the king's intention was concerned when he sent it to them. Since what they ought to have done, had they been wise, would have been to return to the

kingdom and accept the king's grace as soon as they received and verified the patent, and afterwards to have carefully kept and preserved his patent in testimony of his pardon; and so they would have known all that was of importance for them to know of the king's signature and of his seal.

By this allegory and similitude, I understand what a man ought to do immediately upon his becoming acquainted with the message of the Gospel; for the Gospel is as it were a patent, by which God graciously and freely pardons us all our misdeeds, for which we are in exile, and banished His kingdom, and He qualifies us to return and enter into it, as also to receive His favour, together with His image and likeness. And moreover I understand in what consist, and how great the error, stupidity, and folly of those who, reading the Gospel, approve of it, and hold it to be true, but, not relying upon what it promises, neither enter into the kingdom of God, nor make their peace with God, and spend their time in examining and verifying curious conceits about God and Christ, wholly out of their province, and which are useless to them; they busy themselves in serving God and Christ in those things which are neither prescribed by Him, nor are pleasing to Him, and by which, peradventure, they aggravate the wrath of God against themselves. I understand that all men fall into this error who regulate themselves in matters pertaining to God by human wisdom, being ignorant of God, and not knowing Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XXXIX.

That quickening to spiritual life bears certain relations to dying to the world, and that the glory of the resurrection bears certain relations to such quickening.

THIS is certain, that as soon as a man, inspired by God, accepts the covenant of justification through Jesus Christ our Lord, he begins to die to the world, and to live to God ; to die to Adam, and to live to Christ ; to withdraw from the kingdom of the world, and to enter into the kingdom of God : and that when the man dies, the soul separating itself from the body, he consummates the dying to the world, and the dying to Adam, and his withdrawal from the kingdom of the world ; and that when he shall rise again, the soul made perfect, returning to unite itself with the body, he shall rise wholly to God, he shall live to Christ, and shall abide in the kingdom of God. Hence considering the difference there is between the condition of a man, however much he may have died to Adam and the world, so long as soul and body remain united, and the condition of another man already dead, whose soul is disunited from the body, I understand the differences there will be between the condition of a man, however much he

may be quickened towards God and towards Christ whilst he is in this life, and the condition in which he will be when raised again to God and Christ in the life eternal—understanding that the difference between the state of resurrection, and that of quickening, will be beyond all comparison greater than is between the state of death and that of mortification, although this is exceedingly great. I mean to say, there is a much greater difference between a man raised from the dead, and one only quickened, than there is between a man dead and one mortified; understanding, that the man mortified is as it were dead, being crucified to the world and to himself, and more in the other life than in this, and that the quickened one is so far from being like one raised from the dead, that he remains still subject to passions and to death; from all which things he is set free at the resurrection. And understanding all this, I am wont to style mortification incomplete death, and quickening incomplete resurrection. And I understand that the resurrection in the life eternal will be analogous to the quickening in this life. I mean to say that the glory of the resurrection will respond to the perfection of the quickening.

Whence I gather, that since quickening in this life has fixed relations with mortification, and the glory of the resurrection in life eternal will have fixed relations with the quickening, it is the duty of the pious Christian, desirous of realising the life eternal, to mortify himself greatly, to be very like Christ in death, in order that he may likewise be very like Christ in the resurrection, in which he will evermore remain in the kingdom of God, together with God's own Son, Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XL.

That God exerts His will in two modes, the one mediate, the other immediate.

I CONSIDER that God exerts His will in two modes, the one mediate and general, and the other immediate and particular. I understand that He governs the universe with the one, and that He governs those whom Christ has redeemed with the other. I understand that creatures are the agents of the one, each one in his degree and office; and I understand that the Holy Spirit is the agent of the other, with those persons who partake of the same Spirit.

I understand that men are frequently grieved with the results of the divine will wrought mediately, because it appears to them to redound to their prejudice. And I understand, that they who are affected by the results of the divine will wrought immediately are ever pleased with it, because it always redounds to their advantage. The efforts of the divine will worked mediately are, as I understand, those which result from celestial influences and from other natural things, which, following the order prescribed for them by God, at one time do harm, and at another do good. This order and this course is, I understand, sometimes altered by God's will speaking immediately, and at other times, I understand it

is curbed by the same (Wisdom xvi.) : and in this altering and curbing consists, as I apprehend, that mode of exerting God's will which I call immediate, because the common and general order is not followed out. The other mode in which God exerts His will immediately consists, as I understand, in those things which He does Himself by His word and by His Holy Spirit ; such are, the creation of the world, and particularly that of man, the restoration of the human race by Christ, the call to participation in this benefit, justification, with all the other spiritual experiences and feelings. I understand that man was at first, at his creation, made subject to this immediate will of God : and I understand that it was by sinning that he made himself subject to the mediate will of God : and that in this subjection, as I understand, all the evils and travails consist to which our human nature is subject, and of them death is by far the greatest.

By this process of reasoning two things are made clear to me. The one, that Adam, by disobedience to God, subjected us to that form of God's will which is mediate, and thereby to ills and death ; and that Christ, by obedience to God, restores His people to subjection under that mode of God's will which is immediate, and thereby He frees them from ills and from death. And I understand that He frees them from ills in the same manner as from death. He frees them from death, by qualifying them for the resurrection in which they will live the life eternal. He frees them from ills, sometimes by bringing it to pass that they escape those which they would ordinarily have encountered ; at other times, by taking from them the feeling of their presence : and again He converts them into instruments of self-mortifica-

tion, so that evil is to them transmuted into good; just as He does not free them from death so that they should not die, but prepares them for a most blissful life eternal, so neither does He so free them from evils that they should not encounter them, but He enables them to extract good from these evils.

The other thing that I understand is, that the incessant aspiration of the man who feels, or who begins to feel, the benefit of Christ within himself, ought to be the desire and prayer to be freed from subjection to the mediate will of God, and to be restored to His immediate will; because God being consummately good, nay goodness itself, there is nothing in His immediate will that does not exactly agree with Himself. And I certainly think that Christ, when he counsels His people to say, 'Fiat voluntas tua,' 'Thy will be done,' counsels them to cherish the desire I have expressed, and that they ever aspire in this manner, as though He would say: Ask God that He exempt you from His ordinary rule and government, and that He make you the subjects of His particular rule and government; that He free you from the government of His will exerted mediately, and place you under that which He exerts immediately, so that, just as the heavenly Hosts are ruled immediately by God, so you here on earth may also be governed immediately by God.

Hence I gather, that when a pious person feels himself afflicted and tried in body or in mind, it will be well that, attributing that affliction and trial to subjection to that mode of God's will which is mediate, he feel the original sin of Adam stirring within him; and that longing for and groaning after Christ's

righteousness, he say to God : ' *Fiat voluntas tua,*' 'let Thy will be done; free me, Lord, from this Thy mediate and general will, and place me under Thy immediate and special will ; take from me the proneness to evil, to Adam's disobedience, and implant in me the sense of good, of Christ's obedience.' Those who utter the words '*Fiat voluntas tua,*' without apprehending them thus, will, I am certain, if they would but closely examine their own minds, find that they say so through their inability to do otherwise : since were they able to bring it about, that God should do that which they fain would, they would not easily submit to God's will ; but when they cannot carry out their own will, they say to God '*Fiat voluntas tua,*' '*Thy will be done,*' making a virtue of necessity. Those who say to God, '*Fiat voluntas tua,*' meaning, as has been said, to be subject to the immediate will of God, say so with all their heart, say so with the Holy Spirit, and say so in the sense in which it is suggested that our Lord Jesus Christ might say it Himself.

I do not understand that the mode of God's will which I style mediate is not God's particular providence, but I understand that such providence is common to mankind, as are rain, sunshine, &c. &c., things which are enjoyed by men in general. And I understand the immediate will to be a providence of God more special and advantageous to the elect ; as was the case in the gift of Christ, and as are those other favours which He bestows with a preference on one rather than on another. Some of these favours are occasionally enjoyed by the wicked, though this is not God's principal design ; as, when at Joshua's prayer, God arrested the sun, a favour by which many wicked persons profited accidentally, it might be said

while the people of God enjoyed it in a manner wholly different, because they appreciated the favour. The same might be said of all the external favours which God bestows on His own people, in which others always participate who are not His; but they know nothing of that more special and gracious providence and will of God; and thus, as far as they are concerned, these events are fortuitous.

I come therefore to this conclusion, that in speaking of the mediate will of God, I understand this particular providence of God; that is, in the natural course of things, with which God ever concurs. And that in speaking of the immediate will of God, I understand that more special and gracious providence of God, by which the natural course of things is changed; and to this I attribute all that God works in His people and by them. And I call those His, who, as members, are incorporated with Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XLI.

God wills that pious persons should know that everything must proceed from Him, and that they should seek to obtain everything from Him.

CONSIDERING that Jesus Christ our Lord assures every pious person that he shall obtain from His eternal Father all that he shall ask believingly in

prayer ; and having experienced in myself, and finding the same experience repeated in other devout persons, that I sometimes obtain less of what I pray for, when, as it appears to me, my confidence in prayer is the greatest ; and that, at times, I obtain what I pray for, when, as it appears to me, my confidence in prayer is less ; I think thus, that God requires of a man faith in prayer, just as He requires of him his entire love. God well knows that man cannot (of himself) love Him with the whole heart ; and He knows well that man cannot exert faith in prayer ; for they are both contrary to his natural inclination, and they both must necessarily proceed from Himself ; but God requires them of man that he may know himself, and that knowing himself, he may humble himself, and cast himself on the mercy of God, and not pretend to be able to do anything as of himself. And because He knows that the human mind is most arrogant, He is at times more deaf to a man's petition, when it appears to the suppliant that his faith in prayer is the strongest. God acts thus, that man may not attribute that which he obtains through prayer to his own faith, and in order that he may know the difference there is between self-confidence and that assurance which comes from God. And that he may know that God holds him in esteem, and loves him, He occasionally gives him what he asks for, when his faith was in his own eyes less ; at other times He gives without being asked, simply upon his wish, and again at other times He gives him that which he might desire, even without his desiring it.

Hence I understand that God wills of man that he strive with all his mind to give Him all his love, to trust solely in Him, and to hope from Him all that

belongs to the present life and to the future. With this effort, and with this tendency, I understand that man gains two grand points: the one, that God overlooks the coolness of his love, the weakness of his faith, and the impatience of his hope; and the other, that God Himself gradually influences his love, strengthens his faith, and animates his hope. And thus He brings that to fulfilment Himself which Jesus Christ our Lord promised.

CONSIDERATION XLII.

The manner in which a devout person should conduct himself when in a state of inward prosperity; and in what manner when under inward adversity.

IT comes to pass that a devout person, being overtaken by a state of barrenness and discontent, finds himself without assurance and almost without faith; and it comes to pass that the same person when in another state, well satisfied, cheerful, and content, finds himself exercising great assurance and great faith. Whereupon the enemy of the human race, desirous of disturbing his happiness, comes to persuade him that he trusts and believes on account of the good he finds within himself, so that his trust is in himself and not in God. Yet it is wholly the reverse; and for this reason: the devout person,

finding himself in the former state, will know and understand what he is of himself, what he is by creation, and what he is through Adam, and will think that, because he has, at some seasons, experienced the favour of God, that he in his present predicament realises His disfavour, for only he feels estrangement who has previously felt love. And this reflection will avouch to him his election, his call and predestination, and will prompt him to say, 'the same God who, at other seasons, has without merit on my part shown Himself gracious unto me, will deliver me out of this estrangement, and will afresh show His loving-kindness to me.'

When the devout person finds himself in a prosperous state, he will know and understand what he is through God, the being which he has from God, and the being which he has through Christ; and he will recognise the presence of God within himself, to which he will attribute his love, affiance, faith, and hope, knowing that they are all gifts of God, and having already known what he is of himself, and what he is without God.

In this mode, knowing himself to have been in the former state, bereft of the presence of God, and knowing God in the latter state, and being enriched with His presence, he will increase greatly in self-knowledge and in the knowledge of God; and this, as Solomon says, 'est omnis homo,' 'makes the whole man' (Eccles. iii.); meaning to say, that the whole being and all the perfection of man consist in this, that he know that his being and his perfection come to him from God, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Postscript.—I do not understand that justification and faith are synonymous, but that they who believe

enjoy justification, through the justice of God already executed upon Christ. And I understand that for a man to be justified by this justice, is as worthy a cause of pride or of self-esteem and vainglory, as for the thief who is rescued from the gallows in holy-week, to make his liberation a subject of self-esteem and vainglory. Men never flatter themselves unless it be upon what they find and recognise to be a personal merit. I speak of those who have a sound judgment. And if any one shall say to me, 'Why did St. Paul boast himself and glorify himself so much upon being a Christian?' I shall answer him, 'St. Paul did not boast of himself as matter of personal glorification, but he boasted himself of Christ, to the glory of God (Gal. vi.) ; as the thief, boasting of his liberation, does not glorify himself, does not boast with a view to his own glorification, but he boasts, as one might say, of holy-week, to the glory of Christ.'

CONSIDERATION XLIII.

How a pious person may be assured that he has
 obtained piety and justification by the Spirit,
 and not by human wisdom.

AMONGST other things with which evil spirits disquiet and molest the thoughts of devout persons, is, as I understand, the suggestion that the knowledgē

which they have of God and of Christ, together with their apprehension of spiritual things obtained through the Holy Spirit's teachings, are not gained by them from revelation, nor by inward inspiration, as they acquire it who are God's elect, and as they needs must, in order that they may be interested in that blessedness which Jesus Christ our Lord declared to be St. Peter's, in Matt. xvi. 17; but by human skill, judgment, and diligence, as those persons acquire it who are not God's elect, and are therefore neither esteemed nor called blessed. And because I am aware of this, I desire that they who know God and Christ by the Holy Spirit, may understand their good fortune and their happiness. I say, that every pious person justified by the justice of God executed upon Christ, being tempted with such imaginations and with suggestions, may, as far as the former proposition is concerned, rest assured, that if his piety and his justification were not the work of the Holy Spirit, he would not have been tempted by such imaginations, nor by such suggestions; for the flesh is never opposed to the flesh, but is ever opposed to the Spirit; and for this reason, the evil spirits, who, as David says (Ps. lvi. 6), 'exercise all their thoughts in devising wickedness,' availing themselves of the enmity there is between the flesh and the Holy Spirit, disturb the mind with such suggestions and with such imaginations. If with this they are unable to dispel from their minds such imaginations and suggestions, let them compare what they know of God and of Christ, and what they understand of spiritual things, by the operation of the Holy Spirit Himself, with what men, prized and esteemed by the world for their ability, judgment, and diligence, commonly know and understand about them, who have read all that they have,

who have heard all that they have, and who seek for themselves all that the former aspire to, and finding, as in fact they will find, that what they know of God and of Christ, and what they understand of spiritual things by the operation of the Holy Spirit Himself, is very different, quite diverse and of another quality, from what men commonly know and understand; they will be able thoroughly to assure themselves that the blessing of piety and the blessing of justification have not been obtained by human ability, judgment, or diligence, but properly by divine revelation, by divine inspiration, and by the Holy Spirit; unless they shall be so presumptuous and so arrogant as to think that they have more ability, more diligence, and more judgment than other men. But this thought is ever alien to those who are elected by God to be participators in the grace and favour of God, which is preached amongst men in the Gospel of Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XLIV.

How a man shall know what progress he has made in mortification; and why it is that they who become devout are assailed by affections and appetites with which they had never previously been tempted.

I UNDERSTAND, that when a person wishes to know what progress he has made in mortification, I mean to say, what affections and appetites he has mortified, he will be able to do so, by examining himself very diligently, what affections and appetites he has felt alive and in full force within him, being tempted by them; and by considering which of them are already dead or mortified, he will then know what progress he has made in mortification.

For I understand, that he who has never felt ashamed to speak of Christ's righteousness, has not mortified the affection of shame which is peculiar and natural to man; and he that has felt the shame, but now no longer feels it, is the man who has mortified it, as St. Paul had mortified it, according to his own showing, Rom. i., where he says, 'I am not ashamed to preach the Gospel;' and I understand that, if he never had been ashamed of it, he never would have boasted of not being ashamed of it.

Similarly I understand, that he alone has mortified the affection of worldly honour and of self-esteem, who, having been tempted by them, and having withstood them, has now ceased to be tempted by them.

I apprehend that it is just the same with the affections of wrath, of envy, of hatred, and of revenge, as I do moreover of the sensual appetites; understanding, that the carnal appetite has not been mortified, save by him who, having been tempted by it, and having withstood it, has ceased to be tempted.

My estimate is precisely the same of the passion of seeing objects that delight the eyes, of eating things that pamper the palate, of lending the ear to frivolous and worldly tales, of gratifying the sense of smell with exquisite perfumes; understanding, that he only may be said to have mortified himself in these appetites, who, having been tempted and annoyed by them, and having combated them, has brought himself to such a state, that either he no longer feels them, or is so much their master, that he easily conquers them whenever they assail him.

And forasmuch as death can only be experienced by one who has lived, it being necessary that everything and all that is after the flesh, as well affections as appetites, should die in them who are to be quickened; I understand, that all this having to die in the regenerated man, it is the work of God, that immediately upon a person becoming pious he is assailed and tempted, not only by those affections and appetites by which he had been tempted in time past, but also by others that he had never felt before, diverse and even wholly foreign; in order that feeling them to be alive, he may slay them, and slaying them, that regeneration may be made as perfect in him as it is in them who are members of the Son of God, Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XLV.

Whence proceeds the fear of death in pious persons ;
 and that satisfaction in the prospect of another
 life is a mark of predestination.

DESIROUS of understanding whence it proceeds that many persons destitute of piety have voluntarily yielded themselves to death, and have courted and desired it, and have become suicides ; whilst many pious persons are made sad, and lament at the thought of death, not being able to bring themselves to be resigned to death,—which, according to the dictates of human reason, ought to be just the reverse, forasmuch as persons destitute of piety either disbelieve in another life, or are in a state of doubt concerning it, or think that it will go ill with them in it ; and forasmuch as the pious believe in a future state, and rest certain of it, and are assured that it will go well with them in it,—I am thus led to think that amongst those who are destitute of piety there are some who do not fear death, through some fixed notion which they entertain ; and others, because they hold it a brave thing not to fear it ; whilst some love death, believing to acquire fame by dying ; and again others, because they find it troublesome and painful to live in want and dishonour ; who act,

like the impatient invalid, that exposes himself to the danger of a relapse into more serious illness, in his desire to rid himself of the lesser one which he feels. In all these, I contemplate their own rashness, their own madness, and their own impatience. Again, I think that amongst the pious who fear death, some do so because they are not fully confirmed in religion, nor are they fully assured of the righteousness with which eternal life is obtained. Others fear it through natural instinct, God having so constituted it, that men should fear death, and should love life, in order that they should preserve it. Whilst others fear it because it has been inflicted on men as the punishment of sin, God having so constituted it, that man should feel as chastisement that which has been given to him as chastisement by a general sentence affecting all, for that all are implicated in the evil of original sin. In all these I recognise piety, righteousness, and holiness, although I discover weakness and infirmity in the former, which I likewise impute to those pious persons, who, without consciousness of inward inspiration that God wills that they should die, desire and love death, for this desire is not free from some traces of impatience, akin to that of those who are destitute of piety.

Whence I come to this conclusion, that since the absence of the fear of death, and of love of it, in those who are destitute of piety, springs from rashness, folly, and impatience; and that the fear of death in the pious springs from piety, righteousness, and holiness, that neither a man destitute of piety, when freed from the fear of death, has cause for self-exaltation, nor has the pious man, when he finds himself timid in death, cause for self-depression, knowing that his fear is caused by weakness and infirmity,

through want of assurance, and of firmness in reliance; or that he has it from natural temperament; or that he has it as a conscious chastisement for sin; which operates upon all who belong to the people of God, even should they not feel it to the same extent. Whence, if any one shall say, 'Christ having suffered for original sin, they who are His members ought not to feel the penalty and chastisement of death,' I shall reply that Christ has not revoked the sentence issued against us all, which subjects us to death, but He provided a remedy for it by the resurrection; so that we died through Adam, and are raised through Christ.

I come moreover to a further conclusion, which is, that the pious man is, as such, content to die, when the glory of God is magnified by his death, as the Christian martyrs were content, and when it is God's will that he should die; for I understand that God at such a moment gives him contentment. So that when a pious man shall feel within him a fixed fear of death, not being able to bring himself to be content to die, he may rest assured that God will not remove him from this life at such a moment; and he ought to think that, whilst he fears, natural inclination and the chastisement of sin are producing their effect upon him; and thus he will not grieve, neither will he hold himself to be less pious on this account. Persons destitute of piety, when they fear death the least, and when they are brought to be most contented with it, were they to speak the truth, would confess that, were it in their power, they would not desire that there should be another life, because they are not certain of being well off in it. And the pious, when they fear death the most, speaking the truth, will confess, that they would not be content that

there should not be another life, feeling within themselves that God has not created them for this world, but for the other.

And this discontentedness with the present life only, is, as I understand it, a great sign by which a man may be able to assure himself of his piety and of his predestination ; for I hold it for certain, that God implants exceedingly great love and affection to eternal life in all those to whom He is about to give it.

So that he who shall feel the desire within him, that there should be no other life, let him regard himself as without piety, though death be attractive to him ; yet let him not despair, for although he is at present without the pale of piety, he ought to think that God is mighty to draw him within it, even as He has drawn and draws all those who have been and are in it. And he who shall consciously feel love in his soul to life eternal, and discontentedness with this present life, let him hold himself to be pious, and predestined to eternal life, although he may fear death, considering all that has been here said, and above all, that even He feared death who was the only Son of God, Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XLVI.

That they who tread the Christian path without the inward light of the Holy Spirit, resemble those who walk at night without the light of the sun.

ALL they who, guided only by the light of nature and by human wisdom, presume to understand things that belong to the Spirit of God, and to tread the Christian path, that is to say, to live in a Christian-like manner, I compare to a man who walks at night by a way that is full of perils and obstacles simply with the light of his eyes. And it appears to me that just as to this man a tree will at one time appear to be a footpad, and he will fly from it; a rock, to be an armed man, and he will be dismayed; and at other moments, water will appear to him to be stone, and he will be plunged in it; and a shadow will appear to be a tree, and, trying to lean against it, he will fall flat on the ground; exactly in a similar manner, the man who, guided by the light of nature, treads the road to God, at times is frightened by things that ought never to have terrified him at all, and at other times he feels secure, and reposes trust in things in which he ought never to have felt secure, nor reposed trust at all, and thus groping his way,

he walks like one bewildered, and knows not whither he is going.

He who walks by the light of Holy Writ and after the example of the saints, but without the Spirit, I compare to a man who walks at night, carrying a candle in his hand, so that he does not go wholly in the dark ; but, neither does he go without fear, nor does he in his mind feel safe, nor is he sure that he shall not fall into many difficulties.

Whence I understand, that just as to the traveller, of whom I have spoken as walking by night simply by the light of his own eyes, the best and safest counsel that can be given is, that he suspend his journey as long as the night lasts, till the sun be risen to show him the way and the objects upon it, and he be enabled to travel, aided by the light of his eyes ; so to him that travels on the road to God simply by the light of nature, by the testimony of Scripture, and by the example of the lives of the saints, the best, the soundest advice that can be given him is, that he stop on the way, during the night of his own blindness, until God send him His Spirit, by means of which, together with the light of nature, and with his human wisdom, he may thoroughly know his way, and see all that is in it. And if a man should ask me, saying, 'How shall I halt on this road ?' I would answer him, 'Do not exercise thyself in anything affecting righteousness, or religion of any sort or kind, and pray God heartily that He would send thee His Spirit to be to thee as a sun upon this road, upon which thou neither knowest how to walk, nor canst walk by thy mere wisdom. And be careful, all the while that God delays sending thee His Spirit, to apply thyself to everything that shall present itself to thee, in which

thou recognisest true piety, without any admixture of superstition ; and be contented with all that God does, and discontented with all that thou thyself doest.' This is what I would say to him.

And I understand, that just as if the sun came forth at once in its full splendour, the eyes of the traveller of whom I have spoken would be blinded, so that he would not be able to use them more than when it was night ; so similarly, were the Spirit of God to give a man in a moment all the knowledge that it has to give him throughout a protracted period, it would blind him, and place him in greater difficulties than at first. And because this is true, I understand, that our God, rich in grace and mercy, gives us His Spirit, but in such measure that it shall profit, and not injure us ; not according to our cravings, but according to His eternal wisdom, with which, as a good Father, He governs them who are His children, being incorporated in His only begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XLVII.

Four marks by which to recognise those who pretend to piety and the Spirit, they not having either one or the other.

UNDERSTANDING that the false prophets, against whom our Lord Jesus Christ counsels us to be on our guard, because they have the appearance of

sheep, and are really wolves (Matt. vii. 15), are peculiarly those, who, having busied themselves about Christian piety, pretending to obtain the Spirit of God and to become spiritual persons by their exercises and labours, and without having been able to succeed in their project, ever remain undevout in their minds, although they dissemble and feign piety as far as it can be counterfeited by strange superstitions and ceremonies that make a show of piety; and understanding that the reason why our Lord Jesus Christ tells us that we should be upon our guard against them, is because they are the most pernicious pest that can be, for those who earnestly apply themselves to piety, inasmuch as having lost worldly shame, and having renounced honour and outward reputation, and having lost respect for God and all religion, they are solely intent upon doing all the injury they can to religion and to those who are devoted to it, finding a door open for that purpose in the conversations and intercourse which they have with such persons. Now, desiring that pious and spiritual persons may recognise such wolves* as these, who present themselves in the garb of sheep, and that, knowing them, they may beware of holding converse and intercourse with them in the exercise of that dovelike simplicity which they have received from the Holy Spirit, and in the practice of that wisdom of the serpent which is natural to them, I have discovered four marks, by which spiritual persons may discern whether he who comes to them, comes having the divine vocation to do so, or whether he comes at his own suggestion, called by his own self-love. I mean to say, whether he being

* Inquisitors and their satellites. See also in *Dos Diálogos*, ed. 1850, p. 285. Inquisitors, friends of Charon, enemies of true Christians.—*Tr.*

one who, despising the false religion followed by men of the world, desiring to devote himself to the true religion followed by the children of God, becomes undeceived by his own wisdom and human reason, or purely by the communication of the Holy Spirit ; for I understand that those who are undeceived by human reason are always impious, and are pernicious to the spiritually-minded.

The first mark is great affection to spiritual things, delighting in them, and following anxiously after them. And I call all those things spiritual which are peculiar to the Holy Spirit, which are inward and divine. Such are the study of the Holy Scriptures, discourse upon sacred topics, persevering prayer, and continual adoration in the Spirit ; that is to say, a man's continual satisfaction with all that God does, esteeming everything to be holy, just, and good, as far as the weakness of the flesh admits of it.

The second mark is a total abhorrence of all conversations and of all discourses of men and of books in which there is no trace of the Holy Spirit. For I understand that the man who has truly enjoyed the conversation and the discourse of men and of books which have the Holy Spirit, can never enjoy other men nor other books ; or if he does enjoy these, it is an indication that he has not enjoyed the former.

The third mark is the approval of the things of the Holy Spirit ; of the thoughts and of the experimental knowledge, and of the feelings, which are acquired by the Holy Spirit, and that with the heart, and not with the head. Human wisdom, occasionally, approves of spiritual things not with the affections, but with the understanding ; with the judgment, and not with heartfelt sympathy ; and I understand that the man who has this heartfelt sympathy, easily knows

whether another approves them from the heart, or from the understanding.

The fourth mark is the mortification of the mind and of the body. Of the mind, in all the affections which savour of the world; amongst these I assign a prominent position to curiosity, however we may be pleased to palliate and describe it; and of the body, in all the appetites which savour of the flesh. Human wisdom approves and teaches mortification; but however much it may approve and teach it, there never has been, and there never will be, a man who, without the Spirit of Christ—I mean to say, without being incorporated into Christ—will ever so acquire it, that he may not easily be recognised by the man who shall partly have acquired it through our Lord Jesus Christ.

And therefore I come to this conclusion, that the pious Christian will safely admit to his converse and intimacy, men whom he shall see cherishing spiritual things, detached from and disenamoured of those in which the Holy Spirit has no part, and by whom he shall see those things to be approved which stand connected with the Holy Spirit, and in which he shall see true mortification; holding it to be certain, that natural wisdom and cunning are unequal to the task of playing the hypocrite and dissembler in all these things, though they may in some of them, yet not wholly so, but only in part. And this part is easily discovered by pious Christians, whom it behoves to exert serpent-like wisdom, so that, availing themselves of these four marks, they may recognise those who come to them in the outward garb of sheep, being indeed wolves; and in so doing they will avail themselves of the assistance which is given to us by our Lord Jesus Christ.

CONSIDERATION XLVIII.

That he who prays, works, and understands, does then
 pray, work, and understand as he ought, when
 he is inspired to pray, to work, and
 to understand.

FROM Romans viii. 26 we collect that St. Paul considered prayer to be one amongst the things with which, in our weakness and infirmities, we are favoured and helped by the Spirit of God; and thus he says, that forasmuch as we know not how to pray as we ought, the Spirit of God prays for us. Hence I understand that the Holy Spirit then prays for us when He impels us and moves us to pray, because at such a time He prays in us Himself. And I understand, that he who prays with the Spirit of God, asks that which is the will of God, and thus obtains what he desires; and he who prays with his own spirit, asks that which is his own will, and hence the reason why man neither knows for what, nor how, he ought to pray.

The human mind is presumptuous and arrogant, and being unwilling to admit that it neither knows for what, nor how, it ought to pray, it says, 'I will ask God that His will be done, and thus I cannot go wrong;' and does not consider that this prayer springs from his inability to do otherwise, and it may

possibly ill comport with, and ill suit him, that God's will should be done, as was the case with Hezekiah, who was dconcerted when death was intimated to him (2 Kings xx.); and furthermore, he does not know how he will be contented with, and conformed to, the will of God. But man, being unwilling to resign himself as vanquished even by this argument, says, 'I will ask God that He make me contented with whatever shall be His will, and thus I shall make sure;' and he does not consider that it frequently is better for a man neither to be contented with, nor conformed to, the will of God, as it proved better for Hezekiah, and as it proved better for those persons who, grieved and irritated by that which God does, are brought to know themselves, and to know God, to humble themselves, and to exalt God. So that, willing or unwilling, the human mind is constrained to confess what St. Paul says, that we neither know for what, nor how, we ought to pray; and he that confesses this, understanding from St. Paul himself that the Spirit of God prays for us and in us, will earnestly pray to God to give him His Holy Spirit, to pray for him and in him. When he who prays with the human spirit, utters these words of the Lord's prayer, 'Fiat voluntas tua,' 'Thy will be done,' although the words were dictated by the Spirit of God, he does not pray with the Spirit of God, because he does not pray being inspired, but instructed. And St. Paul does not say that the Holy Spirit should teach us to pray, but that He prays for us, and that He prays in us.

I will add this, that they who pray with their own spirit, when they obtain what they ask in prayer, feel in their minds a sort of contentment; blended with pride and egotistic esteem; whilst they

who pray with the Holy Spirit, when they obtain what they ask in prayer, experience the greatest satisfaction, blended with humility and mortification. And for my part I hold these feelings to be sufficient to give a person entire knowledge, whether he prays with his own spirit, or with the Holy Spirit. True it is, that if a man never have prayed with the Holy Spirit, he cannot make this distinction. Cornelius prayed with the Holy Spirit before St. Peter went to his house, but he did not understand that he prayed with the Holy Spirit. Understanding it however subsequently, through St. Peter's agency, he obtained from God even more than he sought,—not indeed more than the Spirit of God sought, which prayed for him and in him, but more than Cornelius himself sought in his own mind (Acts x.). So that the Spirit of God frequently prays in us and for us without our knowing that it is the Holy Spirit who prays, and what the object is that is solicited by Him in prayer.

I understand precisely the same to be true of work as of prayer, since St. Paul likewise classes ministering, that is to say, service to our neighbour and the exercise of charity, amongst the gifts of the Holy Spirit (Rom. xii. 7); and I understand, that because we otherwise know neither what, nor how, nor when, we ought to work, God gives us His Spirit, that He may work in us.

Human wisdom, which is ever opposed to the Spirit of God, pretends to know how to work; and when it works, it works to its own advantage, it works for its own glory, and for its own satisfaction, and not simply for its neighbour's advantage, not for the glory of God, nor for the satisfaction of those who love God; and thence it is that it neither knows

how, nor when, it has to work. On the other hand, the Holy Spirit works in the interest of the neighbour, for the satisfaction of those who love God, and works to the glory of God.

When he who works merely with the human spirit, imitates the works of the saints, follows the doctrine of the saints, I do not understand that he works with the Holy Spirit, but with his own spirit; since he does not work being inspired, but being taught. And St. Paul says (1 Cor. ii.), that to work by the Holy Spirit is the gift of the Holy Spirit.

They who work with human wisdom find satisfaction in their works, but mixed with arrogance and presumption; and they who work with the Holy Spirit find also satisfaction in their works, but of a very different kind, and mixed with humility and mortification; so that a person, by examining his mind after the work is completed, shall be able by this consideration to understand whether human wisdom or the Spirit of God has wrought in him. True it is, that he who has never wrought with the Spirit of God, can never draw this distinction. I hold the same with reference to the work of Cornelius that I hold with relation to his prayer; he wrought with the Holy Spirit, but he did not understand that it was the Holy Spirit, and he understood it when he saw, and felt in himself, that which resulted from his work. And between that which Cornelius wrought and prayed with the Holy Spirit, and before he knew Christ and received the Holy Spirit, and that which he prayed and wrought with the Holy Spirit after he had known Christ and received the Holy Spirit, I make this difference, that when he at first prayed and wrought he did not understand that he prayed and wrought by the Holy Spirit.

That which I understand of prayer and of work, I understand equally of conceptions of God, and of the comprehension of Holy Scripture ; reflecting that St. Paul ranks these intellectual faculties likewise among the gifts of the Holy Spirit (1 Cor. ii.) ; understanding that because human wisdom is unable to discern the things of the Spirit of God, He gives His Spirit to those who are His, in order that He may teach them to do so. The human mind is proud and haughty on this point, as well as in every other ; and hence, preferring itself to the Holy Spirit, it goes about to help itself all that it can, in order to arrive at the knowledge of God and the understanding of Holy Writ by its own intellect and judgment. And it is a marvellous thing that, the more it labours to do this, so much the more does it incapacitate itself, taking up and understanding the things of God and of the Spirit of God in a sense contrary to the truth. And on the other hand, they who understand and know the Holy Spirit, the more they devote themselves to understand and know, so much the more do they understand and know.

When he who knows and understands the things of God, goes forth in his own skill, and with his own judgment, though he understands that which the saints have understood, I do not apprehend that he knows and understands with the Holy Spirit, but with human wisdom, understanding and knowing, taught, not inspired ; and St. Paul decides that to know with the Holy Spirit is the gift of the Holy Spirit.

He who knows and understands the things of God by his own skill and judgment, realises the satisfaction that he experiences in other kinds of perception, and in the various modes of apprehension

of human things and of men's writings, and with the satisfaction experienced in contemplating these, he feels pride and self-esteem ; and he who understands and knows with the Holy Spirit, realises a satisfaction in that which he knows and understands very different from that which he experiences in other things that he knows and understands, and he feels in his mind humility and mortification. So that, by the feeling which a person experiences in his mind when he acquires a perception of God, and when he understands a place in Holy Scripture, he will be able to judge whether he has attained that perception and that knowledge by his own ability and judgment, or by the Spirit of God. If the feeling be one of pride and self-esteem, adjudging what he has perceived and understood to be due to his own ability and judgment, he will relinquish it ; and if the feeling be characterized by humility and mortification, adjudging what he has perceived and understood to be due to the Holy Spirit, he will abide by and strengthen himself in it. True it is, that he who has never known nor understood with the Holy Spirit, can never make this distinction.

From these three reflections I am brought to this conclusion : that in order to pray as we ought, as well as to work, and likewise in order to perceive and understand, and also for everything else in which we exercise ourselves with mind or body in this present life, we need the direction of the Spirit of God, without which, although it may annoy us, we ought to confess that we know not how to pray as we ought, and that we do not know how to perceive or to understand as we ought. With this confession we shall ever ask of God His Holy Spirit, and He will give us it through Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XLIX.

Whence it arises that human wisdom will not attribute all things to God, and in what manner they ought to be attributed to Him.

THERE are, as I understand, three causes why men, deceived by the judgment of human wisdom, will not confess that everything comes from God.

The first, in order that they may not divest themselves of the merits arising from their own good works, conceiving that they would be divested of them, were everything attributed to God ; since the goodness of God, and not that of men, would be brought under consideration in their good works.

The second cause, as I understand, is, because men judge the works of God with the same judgment with which they judge their own works, they hold that to be evil in God which they hold to be evil in wicked men ; and it appearing to them to be absurd and wicked to attribute evil to God, who is consummately good, and is goodness itself, they resolve that they will not attribute everything to God.

The third cause I understand to be, because they think that men, if they believed that God did everything, would lead dissolute lives, and would become licentious, vicious, and insolent, remiss in

rendering and showing kindness to their neighbours ; each one of them saying of himself : ‘ If I live ill, it is because it pleases God that I should live so ; and He Himself, when it shall seem good to Him that I should live well, will make me live well.’ And speaking of their neighbour : ‘ If such a one be needy, troubled, and afflicted, it is because it pleases God that he be so, and when it shall please Him that he be otherwise, He will raise him out of poverty, trouble, and affliction ; therefore there is no occasion for me to interfere in the matter.’

To these three causes, or reasons, alleged by human wisdom, I understand a complete reply may be given in this manner.

To the first, that if men knew themselves, they would recognise in themselves rebellion, iniquity, and sin ; and in their works, self-love and self-interest ; and thus they would not pretend to acquire merit by their works ; and by the withdrawal of that pretension, the first cause of this impiety would be taken away. Into this they easily fall who are just and holy in the eyes of the world, because they are precisely those who seek merit in their works. Those persons are free from this stumbling-block, who, knowing the being and nature of man, renounce their own merits, and cleave only to the righteousness of God, wrought out by Christ.

To the second cause and reason, it may be replied, that if it appear to man absurd and evil that God should harden Pharaoh’s heart, making him sin, in not allowing the people of God to depart ; and that God commanded Shimei to sin, in cursing David ; and that God caused those to sin, to whom, according to Holy Writ, He gave the spirit of error ; and that He should have ordained that Judas should sin

by selling Christ; and that God blinded the eyes of those of whom St. Paul speaks in Rom. i., in order that they might fall into filthy and abominable sins; and that if it likewise appear to men an absurd and evil thing that God should deal thus with many other men;—it is not because the things are absurd and evil in themselves, but because they are the works of the Holy Spirit; and men judging them by human wisdom, by which they are unable to understand the divine mystery that is in them, arrive at a false judgment concerning them. They stand in this matter with reference to God, as rash men do to princes, who think evil of them when, in the interest of good government, and for the public good, they do something which turns to the prejudice of some individuals, neither considering nor fathoming the purpose which the prince had in such transactions, because had they considered and understood them, they would have approved of the things done, and of the princes who do them. I mean to say that rash men, just in the same manner, because they do not understand God's purpose in His works, think evil of them, and under the pretence of piety refuse to attribute them to God; and if they had known and had understood God's purpose in the things they judge to be evil, they would have held and adjudged them to be good; and they would not have been led to divest God of His particular providence in everything. And certainly, if these men had considered that, in hardening the heart of Pharaoh, so that he might sin, by refusing to let the people of God depart, God designed to illustrate His own glory, and to manifest His own power exerted in His people's favour, they would reckon the hardness of Pharaoh's heart amongst the works of

God's mercy, since through it the desire of God's people was accomplished. They would form the same judgment of Shimei's curses, and of Judas's betrayal of Christ, and of the sins of those of whom St. Paul speaks in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and they would form the same judgment of all the works of men, never hesitating to attribute them all to God, searching not the mysterious judgment involved in them, as pious persons investigate them, to whom it frequently occurs that they hold something affecting themselves or somebody to be wrong, through ignorance of God's design in it, and then after a while, knowing God's purpose in it, they hold it for a thing most correct. And it frequently happens to the same persons that they hold a thing to be well done, which they subsequently, and after a while, know was ill done. This occurs to them, at one time, when they are not intently observant of God's judgments, and at another because it does not always please God that they should understand what He purposes in His works; as possibly it may not have pleased Him that Moses and Aaron should understand what He designed by Pharaoh's obduracy, in order that they should not desist from urging him to let God's people go. Whence it appears that man's piety consists in earnestly applying his mind to understand what God purposes in His works, and principally in those which appear absurd and evil, and in reverence and approval of those which he does not understand, holding them all to be holy, just, and good.

To the third cause and reason which men find for not confessing that God does everything, it may in truth, and with the warrant of personal experience, be replied, that the men who believe and hold it

certain that God causes everything, for that very same reason that they have such certainty are they pious and just ; and being pious and just, they are in themselves most temperate and most modest, and are towards their immediate dependents most pitiful, most attentive, and most liberal ; inasmuch as piety and justice mortify in them both the sensual appetites which might make them vicious and insolent, and the affections of mind which might make them self-seeking egotists, and consequently remiss to their neighbours. This mortification in them proceeds partly from their heartfelt union with God, of whose presence they are ever conscious, and principally from the incorporation with which they ever abide incorporated into the death of Christ, who, slaying His flesh upon the cross, slew together with it that of all those who, believing in Him, make themselves His members. And they who abide in this, never go the length of apologising for licentiousness of life by pleading the vehemence of their passions, saying that it pleased God that they should be so constituted : just the reverse, recognising any vice in themselves, and recognising any vehemence of passion within them, they discover in themselves the traces of their own iniquity, rebellion, and sin, and they ask of God that He would mortify these remains of sin in them, as He has mortified the rest. Nor do they ever become remiss in assisting and aiding their neighbours, unless it be to the extent in which their affections, which are after the flesh and human wisdom, dying in them, and those which are after the Spirit quickening in them, they cease to be moved by any anxious affection of the flesh, but are moved by an affection controlled by the Spirit ; and to the extent to which they are without inward feeling inciting them to help

and succour their neighbours, they recognise God's will that it should be so. This I say, because the persons who sustain their pious frame, keeping a strict reckoning with their inward motions, hold those to be after the will of the flesh, that differ from what they know to be the will of God; and hold those to be after the will of the Spirit, which they know to be conformed to the will of God, forming this judgment in consonance with what they owe as duty to piety and as duty in connection with righteousness and the teachings of the Holy Scriptures, both new and old; and being thus watchful, they conquer the motives that are after the flesh, and carry out those which are after the Spirit. And though by the will of God they have their imperfections, it is their desire to become perfect; and though they hold their neighbours' sufferings to be the will of God, they hold their impulses to aid and assist them to be also the will of God. And recognising in their own imperfections and in their neighbours' sufferings the will of God, as associated with wrath; and recognising in their own desires of perfection, and in their impulses to succour their neighbours, as associated with mercy, loving the will that is connected with mercy, and fleeing from that which is connected with wrath, they study to attain perfection; and they study to assist their neighbours, remaining quiet when unconscious of any movement towards them, understanding it to be God's will that they should be quiet.

Having explained what moves men not to attribute all things to God, and what may be said in reply, I will now set forth my thoughts on the subject, submitting myself to a judgment more perfect and spiritual.

I consider that the will of God manifests itself in

two ways, as I have expressed myself in previous Considerations : the one mediate, when He works by those which we call second causes ; and the other immediate, when He works by Himself.

I understand that men are subjected to the immediate by original sin, and I understand that men are free and exempt from the mediate by regeneration, but in a certain manner.

I think that in avoiding those things which, by this mediate will, might do him harm, and in applying himself to those things which, by the same, might do him good, freewill in man consists in all those things standing intimately connected with his being externally and bodily well or ill off—with his living outwardly a vicious or a virtuous life.

I understand that all men remain generally subject to the immediate will, God working in them—in some by love, and in others by hatred ; in some by wrath, in others by mercy ; in some by complacency, and in others by displeasure. And this is, as I understand, that will of God concerning which St. Paul says, in Romans ix. 19, that men cannot resist it ; and I understand that God exerts this in illustrating His glory, and in manifesting His omnipotence in His people. So that, in this will of God, there are two developments, with distinct characteristics : the one stamped with hatred, wrath, and displeasure ; the other with love, mercy, and complacency. I understand that the former fell upon Pharaoh, upon Shimei, and upon those to whom God gave the spirit of error ; and upon Judas, and upon those, 'quos tradidit Deus in reprobum sensum,' 'whom God gave over to a reprobate mind' (Rom. i. 28). And I understand this very same fell upon all those who are vessels of wrath, as was Nero, and as all those have been, are, and will

be, who malignantly persecute the Spirit of Christ, in them who are His members. I understand all those to be such who accomplish the will of God, without understanding themselves that such is the will of God ; for had they understood it they would have ceased to be wicked, and would have been pious.

The will of God, stamped with love, mercy, and complacency, was, as I understand, exhibited in Moses, Aaron, and in David, and in the saints under the law, and I understand it likewise in John the Baptist, and in the Apostles and Martyrs, and similarly in all those who are called of God to participate in the Gospel, all of whom, as I understand, fulfil God's will ; for herein piety consists. And I understand that neither Pharaoh, nor Judas, nor they who are vessels of wrath, could cease from being what they were ; nor Moses, Aaron, nor St. Paul, nor they who are vessels of mercy ; so that Judas could not have forborne selling Christ, nor could St. Paul have desisted from preaching Christ.

Finally, I understand that amongst the things which are done in the world by the mediate will of God, they who are vessels of wrath know the natural order of things, and know the goodness or the malignity of men. And I understand, that in the same things they who are vessels of mercy recognise in the natural order of things the will of God, which established that order, and in that, which is, or appears to be, the goodness or malignity of men, they, with the will of God, recognise the goodness and malignity of men.

Similarly I understand that amongst the things which are done by the immediate will of God, they who are wicked know nothing beyond their own desires, and those of them who do them. And in

the very same things they who are pious recognise the will of God, attributing them all to God ; discerning in them who are vessels of wrath, as Pharaoh, Shimei, Judas, and Nero, the exhibition of the will of God in wrath, anger, and displeasure ; and recognising in those who are vessels of mercy, as were those of the Jewish nation and those of Christendom, the will of God in love, mercy, and complacency.

And in this manner, without acting injuriously to God, without becoming depraved themselves, and without casting off charity, nay, illustrating the glory of God, with self-mortification and with expanded charity, they come to believe that God does all things; some by His mediate will, and others by His immediate will ; some as to vessels of hatred, wrath, and displeasure, and others as to vessels of love, mercy, and complacency. And these are they who, amongst all men, are the pious, knowing God, and are just, knowing the Son of God, Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION L.

In what man's depravity consists, and in what consists his restoration. In what Christian perfection consists.

CONSIDERING what I understand and know of the nature of God, that He is impassible and immortal, and that He is wise, just, and merciful, faithful and true ; and considering what I understand and know

of the nature of man, that he is passible and mortal, and that he is ignorant, wicked, revengeful, false and deceitful; and understanding, by the testimony of Holy Scripture, that man primarily at his creation was made in the image and likeness of God; I come to understand that there is as great a difference between the state in which God created man, and that in which he now actually is, as there is between what I know of the nature of God and that which I know of the nature of man. And knowing, by the testimony of Holy Scripture, that man has, through the first man's sin, deteriorated from that nature which was perfect and like the nature of God, to become, as far as the body is concerned, like other animals, and, as far as the mind is concerned, like evil spirits, I come to understand that the evil brought upon the human race by the first man's sin consists in this: that from being impassible, he has become passible, subject to cold and heat, to hunger and thirst, and to all other bodily grievances; that from being immortal, he has become mortal, subject to death; from being wise, he has become ignorant; from being just, unjust; from being merciful, revengeful; from being faithful, false; from being truthful, a liar. I understand that forasmuch as the evil which befell the human race through sin, affects men in body and soul, so likewise the grace which God has been pleased to show to the human race, through Jesus Christ our Lord, affects equally both body and soul. And thus it is, that as soon as a man is called of God he accepts the justice of God, executed upon Christ, as His own, thus making himself a member of Christ; he begins to participate in the first restoration, which is that of the soul, and is effected by the death of Christ. And it is moreover true, that the man

who departs this life a member of Christ, will participate in the ultimate restoration, which will be that of the body, and will be by the resurrection of Christ, and he will share in the general resurrection of all men. So that they who are members of Christ, do by the death of Christ have the evil done to their souls remedied in this present life, if not wholly, at least in part, and they have the evil done to their bodies remedied, by the resurrection of Christ, in the life eternal; and then they will have entirely recovered that image and likeness of God with which they were created, being impassible and immortal in their bodies, and being wise, merciful, faithful and true in their souls, in which, as I understand, all our happiness consists.

Having understood all this, I come to the conclusion, that the proper duty of the Christian in the present life is to be intent upon the reinstatement of his soul, and the recovery of the image and likeness of God, with which he was created; and although, as I have said, this reinstatement is in proportion, if I may so express myself, to the extent of a man's incorporation into the death of Christ, nevertheless I understand it to be a Christian's duty to exercise himself to regain it in this manner. When, through the depravity of his mind, he is tempted to sin, calling to mind that God is righteous, he will say: 'No; the right thing for me is to be righteous, and not to sin.' When he is tempted to vindictiveness, remembering that God is merciful, he will say: 'No; duty calls me to be merciful and not vindictive.' When he is tempted to wrath, remembering that God is long-suffering, he will say: 'No; it is for me to be patient and not irascible.' When he is tempted to act falsely and to lie, remembering that God is faithful

and true, he will say : ' No ; the right thing for me is to be faithful and true.' When he is tempted to desire to be esteemed and appreciated by men of the world, remembering that God is a stranger and pilgrim here in this present life, he will say : ' No ; it is my duty to be a stranger and foreigner here, my God being so, in order that I may be wholly like Him.' And finally, when he is tempted to anything that may in some way or another injure his neighbour, remembering that God so loves men that, to remedy the evil and injury into which they had fallen, He gave His own Son to die for them, he will say : ' No ; it is my duty to cherish love and charity.'

And thus passing in review all the objects by which a man through the depravity of his soul may be tempted by his own affections, he will find in God perfections with which he will be able to repress them, and thus, by degrees, he will go on promoting the progressive restoration of his soul, which is the first operation, and he will ever be the better qualifying himself for the restoration of his body, which is the last.

And I understand that Christian perfection consists in this exercise. I mean to say, that a Christian is more or less perfect in this life, just as, being more or less engaged in this exercise, he gains more or less of that part of the image and likeness to God in which he was created, and which is attainable in this life. And this I understand to be the reason why Jesus Christ our Lord concludes His exhortation upon Christian perfection by saying, ' Estote perfecti sicut pater vester cœlestis perfectus est : ' ' Be ye perfect, as your Father in heaven is perfect ' (Matt.v.) ; as if He had said : Finally I tell you, give all diligence to be like to God in perfection ; He is perfect, do

you strive to be perfect, even as He is. And this is peculiarly a Christian admonition, for it proceeded from Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LI.

Of the manner in which God causes Himself to be felt, and of the manner in which God allows Himself to be seen.

HAVING frequently stated that God causes His presence to be felt by those persons, who, accepting the grace of the Gospel, have entered into the kingdom of God, and that He allows those very same persons to see His presence, 'per speculum in ænigmate,' 'in a glass darkly,' as St. Paul says (1 Cor. xiii. 12), I now proceed to state, that the favour which God shows to them whom He allows to see His presence is beyond all comparison greater than that He shows to them by whom He causes His presence to be felt; forasmuch as he that sees it must necessarily feel it, whilst he who feels it does not necessarily see it. I mean to say, forasmuch as it is impossible to see without feeling, but there may be feeling without sight.

To render myself perfectly intelligible, I say this: I understand that a man may then feel the presence of God when loving and believing, confiding and hoping, and when praying, working, and understand-

ing, he really and effectively feels that he is taught and impelled by the Holy Spirit to love and to believe, to confide and to hope, and moreover to pray, work, and understand, feeling that it is the Holy Spirit that inspires him to love and to believe, to confide and to hope, and that it is the Holy Spirit Himself that prays within him, works, and understands; for it is thus that in all these exercises, feeling the grace of the Holy Spirit, he feels the presence of God.

Again, I say, that a man then sees the presence of God when, through Divine grace, the manner is shown to him in which God upholds all things which He has created, in the peculiar mode of existence in which He created them, and in what way, God failing them, or withdrawing Himself, but for a while, from them, they would cease to exist.

To enter profoundly into this meditation, I bring before the mind what is ordinarily seen in the Pope's household, where all those who compose it are dependent upon him, and are maintained by him in the station and dignity in which he has placed them. At the Pope's decease, the whole house is broken up and ceases to exist, so that he that was secretary is so no longer. The same may be affirmed of the other officials of the establishment, all of whom at the Pope's death lose the position which the Pope's life gave them.

Proceeding further, I consider what is experimentally understood of a man, who is such as long as his soul remains in his body, which latter is wholly sustained only in the interest of the former. I mean to say, that the members of the body exercise their functions as long as the soul remains in the body; when the soul is separated, the body dissolves, and returns to dust, so that they which before were eyes are so no

longer. I predicate the same of all the other members of the body, all of which, when the soul has quitted the body, lose the existence they had through the soul's presence in the body.

With reference to the Pope's establishment, forasmuch as with my natural endowments and with my own judgment I am competent to consider and to see what I have stated, it is quite enough for me to see and to consider the presence of the Pope, his careful provision, his goodness, liberality and justice, so far as he keeps his establishment in good order and well regulated. And forasmuch as with my natural parts and powers of discourse I am equal to the task of understanding experimentally that the soul, being separated from the body, the man ceases to be what he was, each one of his members ceasing to discharge the functions which it exercised, I am moreover competent to understand experimentally that the body's mode of existence is derived from the soul, and that it is the soul which governs every one of the members of the body in a proper manner, making them render that peculiar service for which they were respectively created. And thus I understand that the mind is provident and discreet, and endowed with all the other good qualities which are annexed to it.

But with reference to God, forasmuch as neither with my natural faculties, nor with my experience, am I able to understand in what manner all things depend upon Him, so that, were He to withdraw Himself, they would fail, I am not able of myself to understand what I saw in the Pope's household, nor to understand that which I understood with reference to man, although, by what I hear say, and by what I read, I am able to imagine it, but, being unable to see and understand by experience, I cannot be as-

sured respecting it, until God Himself allows me to see and to understand how this is, showing me His presence, which consists, as I understand, in this demonstration and in this union.

More than this, I understand that it would be a great satisfaction for a favourite servant of the Pope, were the Pope to become unchangeable and immortal, to see that his position and his maintenance in that rank were derived to him from the Pope and depended upon the Pope's life; and I likewise understand that it would be the greatest satisfaction for a man to see really and practically in what manner the existence and the maintenance of his body depend upon his soul.

And I understand that the satisfaction, the glory, and the contentment which those persons experience within themselves to be beyond all comparison higher and more exalted than in any of these preceding instances, who see the manner, whatever it may be, in which God sustains and upholds all things, giving them their nature and life, so that without Him they would cease to exist and to live. For in this vision they know and feel themselves to be favoured by God, and by it they are tranquillized and assured in their minds, understanding that they are sustained and ruled by Him, who holds all things subject to His power. And in this same vision, in a novel mode, they recognise in God omnipotence, wisdom, justice, mercy, truth, and fidelity; and by this knowledge they increase in love to God, in faith and confidence in God, and in the patience with which they await the life eternal. And thus that comes to pass which I said at the beginning; that man, seeing the presence of God, commences in the present life partially to relish that which he will fully enjoy in the life eternal with Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LII.

That the Christian ought to put an end to the affection of ambition, which consists of the lust of acquisitiveness, and likewise to that which consists in maintaining possession.

UNDERSTANDING that Jesus Christ our Lord tells all of us, who are Christians, to learn 'lowliness of heart' from Him (Matt. xi. 29); and understanding, moreover, that St. Paul admonishes us, 'that we subject our minds to what we recognise in our Lord Jesus Christ, who, being the Son of God, humbled Himself so far as to take the form of man, making Himself man' (Phil. ii. 5—8); I learn that just as humility of mind is that which is most profitable to a Christian, so likewise the passion of ambition, which is its opposite, is that which is most pernicious, which separates him most from Christ, and which most makes him a member of Satan.

And I designate as the passion of ambition every desire, every thought, and every effort, exerted by man, to the intent of increasing his estate, his honour, and his reputation, and of maintaining himself in the possession of what he has acquired: so that the passion of ambition consists of two parts: the one, of acquisitiveness; and the other, of conservation.

Human wisdom judges those persons to be free from the passion of ambition who impose a limit to acquisition ; and in truth they are to a great extent free from it. But they retain the other, which is so much the more difficult to be got rid of, as human wisdom does not recognise it as an evil, nay, judges those to be vile and mean who are without it. But the Holy Spirit, who does recognise it as an evil, judges those to be ambitious who have it, and wills that they whom He rules be wholly free from it ; that they renounce it, and free themselves from it, so that they never desire advancement in the eyes of the world, nor are they preoccupied with the studied maintenance of what they possess ; though He does not demand of them that by their own acts, and at their own suggestion, they should do things whereby they may come to be degraded and impaired in that position of honour and reputation in which they happen to be ; training their minds to be contented, with increase or decrease, according to the will of God. And He likewise wills that they occupy themselves, in everything and everywhere, both in gaining increased favour in the eyes of God, and in maintaining what they have gained.

And on this account, the pious Christian, who has to learn humility from Christ, and to bring himself to be like Christ in humility, finds it his duty to quench the fires of ambition, divesting his mind of every thought, aiming at promotion in the things of the world, or of effort to maintain possession of what he has acquired ; thinking solely of advancement in the things of God, confiding, hoping, and loving, and endeavouring to maintain in himself all the confidence, hope, and love that he shall have acquired ; inwardly resolving that what remains for him to do is to

please God, and those who partake of the Spirit of God ; and not the world, nor those who adopt the opinions and counsels of human wisdom ; and doing thus, he will become like Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LIII.

How it is that men of the world, in obeying the dictates of honour, are less vicious than in obeying those of conscience.

ALL men are generally malignant and perverse, and so much so, that to go amongst them is nothing else than to go amongst tigers and lions, and amongst vipers and serpents, save so far as their fury and madness are restrained by some fetters, amongst which the principal and strongest ones are honour and conscience, the former affecting the present life, and the latter the future.

I mean to say, that the pursuit of this world's honour restrains some men, who are neither so vicious nor so licentious in their style of life as they would have been in following out their natural inclination. And other men are restrained by the fear of eternal punishment ; for they think : ' If I do this, I shall offend God, and He will chastise me with eternal punishment ; ' and this is the work of conscience.

So that it may be said, that all men who are not ruled by the Holy Spirit, are like so many lions

chained up, lest they should do injury ; and therefore, should they break their chains, they in their fury do injury by following out their natural inclination. For men whilst they are bound with these fetters do no harm, neither are they licentious ; when these chains are broken, in their fury and madness they do injury by following out their natural inclination.

Hence, considering that worldly honour is the strongest of these chains with which men are bound, and seeing that man more easily sets aside the dictates of conscience than those of honour, I come to understand that men who pursue worldly honour, because they are bound with a stronger chain, are, compared to other men of the world, the least vicious, and the least licentious ; partly by their own inclination, for being subject to the rule of human wisdom, they highly esteem honour ; and partly, out of respect for those persons of whom they take counsel, for these being zealously devoted to honour and understanding it, ever counsel rightly what honour prescribes. The result is very different with regard to conscience, since man is not of himself favourably disposed to it, either because he believes nothing beyond what he sees, or because he remains in a state of hesitancy, or because he abandons himself to disorderly courses. And as he is desirous of taking counsel upon subjects concerning which he stands in doubt, he consults other men, who have no regard for conscience, neither do they understand it ; and thus they are unable to advise rightly what conscience prescribes.

That this is true, any one may clearly know who will be pleased to examine himself, finding it to be a fact, that men esteem honour more than conscience, and that they are more determinately and more

virtuously counselled in a matter which is submitted as a case of honour, than when submitted as a case of conscience.

And this may serve to explain the reason why it is said that the mode of life is less vicious and less licentious amongst infidels than amongst those who call themselves Christians : it is because the former are in most things bound by honour, whilst the latter are in many things bound by conscience.

I except from this sweeping statement men regenerated, and called by the Holy Spirit, who, without being put in chains, live modestly and temperately ; and are in this governed by the Holy Spirit, which is communicated to those who believe ; in whom this rule is so powerful, that without being attached by any chain, for they do not fear dishonour, nor have they scruples of conscience, they surpass all men of the world, in that they are not vicious or licentious, all their passions having been slain upon the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.

CONSIDERATION LIV.

That PRAYER and CONSIDERATION are two books, or interpreters, for the sure understanding of Holy Scripture; and the way in which a man should make use of them.

I HOLD it to be a thing most true and most certain for the understanding of Holy Scripture, that the best, the surest, and the highest interpreters that man can find are these two—PRAYER and CONSIDERATION.* I understand that Prayer discovers the way, opens it, and makes it plain; and I understand that Consideration puts the man into it, and makes him walk by it.

Furthermore, I understand it to be indispensable that these two interpreters, or books, be assisted by God, Himself inspiring the man who prays, to pray.

* It would seem as though the almost universal mind of Shakspeare had conceived the sentiment or argument of even this recondite work. It is not very likely that he knew the work itself in Italian, yet had he known it he could scarcely have expressed the scope and purport of it more tersely and completely than he has done by these lines in 'Henry V.,' Act I. Scene I. :—

'CONSIDERATION like an angel came,
And whipp'd the offending Adam out of him;
Leaving his body as a paradise
To envelope and contain celestial spirits.'

Because I understand, that he who prays without being inspired to pray, does so at the suggestion of his own fancy, of his own affection, and of his own will ; and that, not knowing how to pray as he ought, he is not heard in his prayer ; and he who prays, being inspired to pray, prays to the glory of God, and prays by the will of God ; and knowing how to pray as he ought, his prayer is heard, and what he seeks is granted.

As to Consideration, I hold it to be indispensable on the part of the man who would consider of spiritual things, that it be assisted with his own experience of them. I mean, that he who considers should have inwardly experienced those things of which Holy Scripture speaks, in such a manner, that by what he finds and knows in himself he comes to understand what is written in the Holy Scriptures. And they who consider without this experience, walk in the dark and grope their way ; and although they sometimes almost divine, and at other times feel certain, yet not having the proof of it within themselves, they do not know whether they are certain, nor do they relish what they do ascertain. Whilst those persons who are aided in *prayer* by the Holy Spirit, and in *consideration* by their individual experience, frequently attain certainty, nay, ordinarily do so ; they know what they ascertain, and also relish it. To render myself better understood, I shall adduce two authoritative passages, the one from St. Paul, and the other from David, presuming to put forward the example in myself. I say, that reading that one of St. Paul, *Sicut testimonium Jesu Christi confirmatum est in vobis* (1 Cor. i. 6), ‘ Even as the testimony of Christ was confirmed in you ; ’ and being desirous to understand it well, I shall first use the BOOK OF PRAYER,

praying God to open to me the way of apprehending these words, and I remain instant in prayer as much so as I am able to keep my mind fixed in it. Then opening the BOOK OF CONSIDERATION, I begin to consider within myself of such Christian things of which I have any experience, and I begin, besides, to examine what the testimony is which Jesus Christ bore to the world. And finding in me the ruling of the Holy Spirit, controlling me inwardly, and feeling myself justified by the justice of God executed in Christ, which two things are so intimately conjoined together that a man can scarcely say of which of them he feels the more conscious, whether the control of the Holy Spirit or justification by faith; and understanding that the testimony which Christ bore to the world, principally resolves itself into two parts—that is to say, the one where he says (Matt. iv. 17), *Appropinquat regnum celorum* or *regnum Dei*, ‘the kingdom of heaven is at hand,’ or ‘the kingdom of God,’ as it is rendered in Mark i. and Luke x., which is all the same; and in the other, where, speaking of His blood, He says, *Pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum* (Luke xxii.), ‘shed for you;’ and in Matt. xxvi. 28, ‘shed for many for the remission of sins;’ of which two parts, the one refers to the kingdom of God which we begin to feel and to enjoy in the present life, and which is continued and perpetuated in the life eternal; the other to the justification which is through Christ;—and I arrive at the conclusion, that St. Paul understood that the Corinthians were able to testify, from their own experience, that Christ spoke the truth in the testimony which He gave to the world, as well of the arrival of the ‘kingdom of God,’ as also of justification by the justice of God executed in His most precious flesh. And I under-

stand a man to be warranted in calling and adjudging himself a Christian just in proportion as he has this testimony of Christ our Lord confirmed within himself.

Similarly, being desirous of understanding that passage of David (Ps. xxxix. 12), *Quoniam peregrinus sum ego tecum*, 'for I am a stranger with Thee,' and having opened the book of prayer, I open that of consideration, and I proceed to examine in what manner I am a stranger and pilgrim in the present life; and finding that I am so, inasmuch as I am unknown, neither am I prized nor esteemed by the world; and inasmuch as I neither prize nor esteem the world; and finding likewise that God, in this aspect, is a stranger in the world, because He is neither known, prized, nor esteemed by the world, and for that He neither prizes nor esteems the world, holding it for what it is;—I understand that David means to say, 'Forasmuch, Lord, as the world does that with me, which it does with Thee; I likewise do that with the world which Thou dost.' And the saints that lived under the law were, as I understand, in this manner 'strangers with God,' and in this manner the New Testament saints are so, and amongst them, as their head, the Son of God, our Lord.

And this is the manner in which, I understand, man has to employ these two most divine books; and I understand that the one admirably helps the other; and I also understand that he who can consider, availing himself of his own experience, always errs when he sets himself to do so without having first opened the book of prayer; and I think that almost always the impulse under which this man is moved to pray is motion excited by God.

From all this I gather, that it being most true

that the right apprehension of Holy Scripture is to be sought by means of these two interpreters, or books, viz., prayer and consideration, and that prayer needs to be helped by the inspiration of God, and consideration by the experience of the man who considers, it is moreover true that the pious Christian who occupies himself with the study of Holy Scripture ought to live in the constant desire that God would give him His Holy Spirit, that He would mortify every fleshly emotion in him, together with human wisdom, in order that quickening may succeed mortification ; for they only within whom the operations of mortification and quickening have begun can possibly consider with the aid of their own experience, for they alone are inwardly conscious of God's spiritual gifts, which they obtain who believe in Jesus Christ our Lord.

 CONSIDERATION LV.

Against curiosity ; and how the Holy Scripture should be read without curiosity.

THE human mind would fain sustain its life and preserve its vigour with divers kinds of food ; and among them all there is, as I understand, none so pleasing or so satisfactory to it as curiosity ; and that, both for itself, and because it is ever associated,

with ambition and vanity. And I understand that this curiosity is so palatable to the human mind, that it feeds upon it, in whatever mode this food may be seasoned and prepared, provided it be curiosity.

Now, it being necessary that this human mind should die in persons who make Christian piety their aim, in order that the resolution be preserved and maintained which they (knowing themselves to be dead upon the cross of Christ) have made and do make with the world and with themselves, it is also necessary that the food of curiosity be taken from them, not giving it to themselves in any form or manner; setting it aside, especially in those things in which it might make pretensions to piety, religion, and holiness, for these are the most prized.

And of these I hold the study of Holy Scripture when read from motives of curiosity to be the most dangerous; because, although it ordinarily is an effective weapon for slaying the human mind, yet the mind, on the other hand, is so lively that it converts Scripture into curiosity, gladly feeding upon this alone, when it can get nothing else to feed upon. And for this reason I understand that it is the pious Christian's duty to be very vigilant and cautious, with reference to many things that may involve curiosity, that he may not have it; and especially in the study of Holy Scripture, in order that the simplicity of the Spirit, which there is in it, be not converted into fleshly curiosity, as happens to those curious persons who read Holy Scripture only to know and to understand.

In reading the Holy Scriptures I understand that the pious Christian should only fix his attention upon the inward experiences and feelings which God, by the agency of His Holy Spirit, shall work in his soul,

and with which, he, by their help, shall go on to try the things of the Holy Spirit, so that, taking up a book of Holy Scripture, he may aim to understand his past experience. And thus, let him think that he does not understand what he has not experienced; and thinking this, if he shall desire to understand it, he will strive to experience it, and will not curiously seek to know how, or what, others have therein understood; and directing his attention to his own experience, he will likewise attend to the entire mortification of his mind, divesting it wholly of curiosity, and combining experience with mortification, he will acquire the true apprehension of Holy Scripture, and he will understand that Christians' occupation does not consist in knowledge, but in experience. And he will discern the error into which those fall who think that they do not understand Holy Scripture because they have not been ordained, nor provided with scientific knowledge and human learning: understanding that they who have been ordained and highly instructed both in science and learning, find it necessary to renounce all these things and leave them, in order to acquire the true apprehension of Holy Scripture, which, as I have said, is not to be acquired by knowledge, nor to be attained by curiosity, but is acquired by experience, and is to be sought with simplicity, since God reveals His secrets to those who are trained in, and adorned with, this simplicity, even as is affirmed in Matt. xi. by God's own Son, Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LVI.

Of the most certain and assured way to attain perfect
mortification.

HAVING repeatedly said that the mortification of all that is derived from Adam is highly necessary to the Christian, it is only recently that I have understood the reason why it is necessary, and the most certain and assured way to arrive at its attainment. And I have learned it from the Apostle St. Paul, where he, having said that he strove to be 'made conformable to Christ's death,' in order that he might attain to participation in His resurrection, labouring to apprehend Christian perfection, for which he felt himself to have been apprehended of Christ—he says that he did this, wholly forgetting the things that were past, both those that could give him satisfaction, as those which could cause him annoyance; and exercising his memory with the recollection that he was called of God in Christ, and that the call was a heavenly one, that is to say, that he was called to the end that, by believing, he should gain eternal life (Phil. iii. 8—11); nay, rather, I understand this is the life by which the Holy Spirit mortifies those persons who, being called of God, duly respond to it. And thus it is that a man, retaining this thought in his memory, comes to shun

and abhor everything which might tend to obstruct this call, and to seek and love everything which tends to preserve and increase it. Coming thus to hate his passions and appetites, and knowing that these are the things which serve to impede his call, he is led to mortify them, so that all that is derived from Adam dying in him, and all that is from Christ living in him, he becomes very like Christ. And thus his plan of action resembles that of an individual who,—invited by a mighty prince to a great feast, and fearing lest he should be impeded and diverted on his way by some delightful objects that might present themselves to him,—adopts as an expedient to liberate himself from them all and to pass freely by them, the constant recollection that he has been invited by that mighty prince, and that he has been called to that great feast, in comparison with which all the feasts that can be presented to him on the road are no feasts at all, but merely child's play. I mean to say that just as this person, keeping this thought alive in his recollection, mortifies all the inward desires which may arise within him, of seeing the feasts which may present themselves by the way, much better than if he made the resolution of not seeing them at all; because it might so happen, that casually coming to see them, he might be obstructed and diverted by them, to that extent, that when he should arrive to see the principal feast he might find it already concluded. Exactly so, or rather much better is it, that the person called of God, keeping alive in his memory the thought of his calling, should mortify, and even slay, all his inward passions and appetites, which, derived from the old man, might obstruct and impede his calling; much better, I say, than if he propose to himself always to oppose them

because it might happen, that in being diverted from his call, he might likewise be diverted from his purpose. Nay, I will rather say, that in acting in this manner, it is the Holy Spirit which mortifies him ; and were he to act in any other manner, suggested by human wisdom, all his efforts would never succeed in accomplishing his purpose ; it being God's ordinance that the Holy Spirit is to be the master and guide of all them who are called to the grace of the Gospel of His only begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LVII.

Whence it proceeds that the flesh is mortified by the
knowledge and experience of divine things.

DAY by day I acquire a stronger conviction that the Christian should be concerned about experience, and not about theoretical knowledge. I mean to say, that his business is not learned by speculation, but by experience. In the first place, I understand that it is peculiarly the Christian's duty to exercise himself in mortification. By persevering in it, he feels that its usefulness consists in this: that by mortifying his affections and appetites, man gradually attains to the apprehension of that divine Christian perfection of which he is himself apprehended by union with Christ, a union brought about by faith.

Advancing a step further, I have learnt that the

most certain and assured way by which the man who is called of God attains to true mortification, is, ever to retain firmly in the memory a fixed thought that he is called of God, and that the call is made in order to give him eternal life.

Now I understand that this marvellous effect of mortification, through retention of the call in the memory, proceeds partly from the vileness of the flesh, and partly from the energy of the things of God. I mean to say, that the flesh being vile and wretched, and being too abject, weak, and infirm to be able to retain in itself the cognizance and experiences of divine things, it comes to pass that by the inherent energy of these the flesh is terrified and yields itself up to fear, so that it is easily conquered and subdued by the Spirit; and thus it remains mortified, together with everything which in man is corrupted by the depravity of the flesh.

And because the recollection of God's call, aided by the knowledge and experience of divine things, is in men very powerful, whilst they are abject, weak, and infirm in themselves, I understand what God says in Exod. xxxiii., that men cannot endure the sight of Him, either mentally or physically, and survive it; for this perfect vision of God is reserved for the just in the life eternal, when the flesh, having been raised, shall assume a form capable of enduring the vision of God.

In this manner, on the one hand, by the goodness of God, the flesh is mortified in the just, not only by the recollection of their call, but likewise by every call and experience connected with divine things; and on the other hand, God continues to temper in them this recollection, these varied kinds of knowledge, and these experiences, in order that they may

not die out, accommodating them to the weakness of the flesh ; as we moderate the heat of the liquid which we desire to preserve in a glass vessel, that so the liquid may be preserved in the vessel without breaking the glass.

And I understand that corporeal and outward exercises, combined with other things of human device, help those persons who are called of God, to sustain them in the condition in which a knowledge or experience of some divine thing left them, and that having passed through their trials, another is given and communicated to them, which causes them to advance in mortification.

So that I am justified in saying that the Christian has not to busy himself in speculative knowledge, but in experience. If it were science, it would have the effect that other sorts of science produce, which is to inflate and to puff up those who acquire them.

But because it is experience, it produces the effect which other kinds of experience are wont to produce, which is to humble and to cast down to the earth everything that is associated with human wisdom, and to elevate and exalt to heaven all that is associated with the Spirit.

I understand this to be the effect wrought in those who, being called of God, are members of Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LVIII.

Of eight points of difference between those who aim and endeavour to mortify themselves by personal effort, and those in whom mortification is wrought by the Holy Spirit.

THIS ever holds true, that all men, when they devote themselves to religion, as well in the false, which consists of superstitious observances, as in the true, which consists in accepting the grace of the Gospel of Christ, devote themselves also to mortification. But in those who seek to attain mortification by the Holy Spirit, I have considered eight notable differences, by which a person may know whether his mortification be the result of personal effort, or whether it be wrought in him by the Holy Spirit.

The first difference is, that they who mortify themselves by personal effort are presumptuous and ambitious, conscious of their own peculiar merit in their mortifications; whilst they in whom mortification is wrought by the Holy Spirit are humble and modest, unconscious of any peculiar merit of their own in their mortifications; for the Holy Spirit operates in them that which a sharp attack of fever is wont to produce in a man. I mean to say, that as by the presence of high fever a man is as it were

deprived of every carnal desire, the desire of health being the only one surviving, so by the presence of the Holy Spirit the man is deprived of everything that is fleshly, spiritual desires being those alone which survive.

The second difference is, that those who aim to mortify themselves, are ever looking after new modes and new inventions to attain mortification; whilst those who are mortified by the Holy Spirit embrace the opportunities of mortification which offer themselves, in whatever mode they may come, being persuaded that God wills that they should be mortified in them and by them.

The third difference is, that those who mortify themselves, live always sad and discontented, because they deprive themselves of their pleasures and bodily satisfactions, and they are not soothed by spiritual ones; whilst they who have mortification wrought in them live almost always cheerful and contented, because they abhor, or begin to abhor, bodily pleasures, and begin to relish spiritual pleasures.

The fourth difference is, that they who mortify themselves, resemble a man whose head is cut off with a jagged and rusty sword, forasmuch as all things prove irksome and rough to them; whilst they who have mortification wrought in them resemble a man whose head is cut by a sword with a fine edge, and by an arm skilled in the operation, forasmuch as mortification is wrought in him by the Holy Spirit without his consciousness of the mortification. And that this is truth, they know by experience who are mortified by the presence of the Holy Spirit.

The fifth difference is, that they who mortify themselves, live ever in continual labour and ceaseless fatigue, like a man who, with great effort, acquires

a very difficult and most distasteful science, and finding in its elements much to disgust and annoy, is only consoled with the thought that he is about to succeed in that science; whilst they who have mortification wrought in them, neither labouring in, nor wearying themselves by, mortification, resemble a man who advances with delight and recreation in the study of a science which he has already acquired, who, finding few things that he does not understand, finds few things to give him trouble.

The sixth difference is, that in those who mortify themselves, the mortification is never real; nay, they are like quicklime,—for just as quicklime does not smoke until water be thrown upon it, but which no sooner has water been thrown upon it than the latent fire immediately discovers itself; so these, whilst they have no opportunity to go astray, do not go astray, but when the occasion presents itself, they instantly discover life within them, by going astray, or by being extremely tempted to do so. Whilst they who have had mortification wrought in them by the Holy Spirit, experience real mortification, and resemble slaked lime, for just as slaked lime does not smoke, however much water be thrown upon it; so these do not go astray, nor are they greatly tempted to do so, however frequent the opportunities for doing so may be that present themselves to them.

And thus it will be with this, the seventh difference, which shows that they who mortify themselves fall in seasons of temptation miserably into error, for, deceived by human wisdom, they are always seeking to flee from conjunctures that excite them to go astray; whilst they in whom mortification is wrought are refined, as is gold in the fire, by those circumstances which present themselves as induce-

ments to go astray ; for, aided by the Holy Spirit, they mortify themselves at the right season, not fleeing from any conjuncture, and for this reason they abide the same both when under temptation and when free from it.

The eighth difference is, that they who mortify themselves by personal effort, devote their principal attention to the mortification of the flesh, scarcely entertaining any purpose of mortifying the mind, not knowing that all evil has its source there ; whilst they in whom mortification is wrought by the Holy Spirit, are mainly intent upon mortification of the mind, knowing that all evil springs thence, and knowing that the mind being mortified, the flesh is so likewise.

Tested by these differences, a person may know whether he mortify himself, or whether mortification be wrought in him by the Holy Spirit, observing, with reference to the latter, that there are three classes of men in whom mortification is wrought by the Holy Spirit.

The first is, when the Holy Spirit works mortification in men without their being conscious of it, and without their being aware that they have the power of the Holy Spirit within them ; and to this class of persons that belongs which was said in the fourth difference.

The second is, when the Holy Spirit works mortification in men, and they feel and know that they have the power of the Holy Spirit within them ; and to this class belongs what was affirmed under the first difference.

The third is, when, through the absence of the Holy Spirit, or through the unconsciousness and ignorance of His presence, men labour to mortify

themselves with personal *effort*; and in this class persons experience much of what has been affirmed in the first, third, fourth, and fifth differences, as to the feelings of those who mortify themselves by personal effort.

Most true it is, that to those who are mortified by the Holy Spirit their efforts at mortification redound to their advantage, that being in effect true which St. Paul says (Rom. viii. 28), *Diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum*,—‘that all things work together for good to them that love God,’ to the glory of God, and of the Son of God, Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LIX.

That in the impulse to pray, the Holy Spirit assures a man that he shall obtain that which he asks.

WHEN reading in Isaiah xxxviii., that death having been intimated by God to the pious king Hezekiah, he bewailed his lot, expressed his grief, and lamented, entreating God with tears that He would not take his life; and reading, a little further on, that the destruction of Jerusalem, with the Babylonian captivity, had been intimated by God to the same king, without his either bemoaning or lamenting, and without his entreating that God should revoke the sentence, and that he acquiesced in the execution of God's

will, accepting it as a blessing from God that these evils should not happen in his time ; and considering that God prolonged the time of Hezekiah's life, and that He executed His sentence upon Jerusalem,— I arrived at the conclusion that pious persons being ruled by the Spirit of God, particularly in their prayers, since as St. Paul says in Romans viii., 'the Spirit of God prays for them and in them,' they scarcely ever pray to God for anything unless it be the will of God to grant it to them, from which it is evident that it is the Spirit of God which inspires them to pray.

According to the judgment of human reason, it would have been more just, and more suitable, that Hezekiah should have bewailed and lamented, and that he should have stirred himself to pray God for the revocation of the sentence against Jerusalem, than for the revocation of the sentence against his own life ; yet Hezekiah, the pious king, moved by the Holy Spirit, prayed for his own life, while he acquiesced in the will of God with reference to what concerned Jerusalem.

Whence I understand that it behoves pious persons to attach high importance as to how they find themselves moved. I mean to say, that they ought to pay great attention, when moved to pray for something of God, to know whether the impulse be from the spirit of man, or from the Holy Spirit. And I understand likewise, that the proper token by which they shall be able to judge between these impulses is the inward certainty or uncertainty which they experience in prayer. Should they find themselves uncertain as to whether they ought to obtain of God what they supplicate for, they will judge the movement to be from the spirit of man ; but feeling them-

selves certain of obtaining it, they will judge the movement to be from the Holy Spirit ; since the movement of the Holy Spirit ever bears with itself assurance, man judging after this wise, ' If the Spirit of God, which has moved me to pray, had not known that it is the will of God to grant me that which I ask, He would never have moved me to pray for it.'

I hold it for certain that Hezekiah had this assurance when he asked that his life should be prolonged, and I hold it for certain that it was through his want of feeling this inward assurance that this same Hezekiah did not ask that the sentence given against Jerusalem should be revoked.

I see that Christ prayed with this assurance when He raised Lazarus, and prayed for the preservation of His disciples ; and I see that He prayed with hesitancy in the garden ; and because He felt whence that movement proceeded, He submitted Himself in prayer to the will of God.

And if the very Son of God Himself experienced these two impulses, and felt assurance in the one case, and hesitancy in the other, every one may well think whether he ought not to be watchful over himself respecting them, for they only will know them who shall be true members of the same Son of God, Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LX.

Whence it arises that the superstitious are severe, and that true Christians are merciful and compassionate.

THE severity and rigour which I observe and recognise as common in persons whom the vulgar hold to be devout and spiritual, but who are in fact superstitious and ceremonious, with reference to the chastisement of, or the desire to chastise the vices and defects of men, proceed, as I understand, from two causes.

The one is the peculiar nature of man, who is prone to esteem and appreciate his own things, and to condemn and depreciate those of others; and the other is the peculiar nature of superstitions and ceremonies, with which severity and rigour stand intimately associated. And thus it is that such superstitious and ceremonious persons, desiring that their superstitious and ceremonious mode of living be esteemed and prized, are forced to be severe and rigorous, both in deeds and words, against those who, not being as they are, have outward vices and defects, in order that their style of life, which they hold to be virtuous, may be the more highly prized and esteemed.

And it is moreover true, that superstitions and ceremonies having their origin and beginning in

some sort of law which men devise for themselves, severity and rigour being intimately associated with the nature of law, because it is by these that it upholds and maintains itself, it comes to pass that both they who are zealously intent upon the observance of the Law, or of the ceremonies and superstitions that are derived from it, and they who are intent upon having it obeyed by others, are severe and rigorous against those who do not keep it.

From this I understand the cause whence sprung the severity and rigour among the Jews, and for this reason I do not wonder if they, who in point of being superstitious and ceremonious resemble the Jews, are likewise severe against the vices and defects of men. And what strikes me as of the higher importance is, that I hereby understand why it was that God was, under the legal dispensation, severe and rigorous, manifesting towards men more severity and rigour than compassion and mercy, although He evinced towards them both the one and the other.

And it is of still higher importance to me hereby to understand, that since God sent His only begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord into the world, men are no longer under the Law, but under the Gospel, which is alien to severity and rigour. It flows from this, that they who are subject to the Gospel, being the people of God, are not severe, nor are they rigorous, against the vices and defects of men; nay, on the contrary, they are compassionate and merciful. And moreover it follows from this that God shows more pity and mercy than severity and rigour.

So that a disposition in man evincing severity and rigour is a mark of self-love and of a mind subject to the Law, to superstitions and to ceremonies, as were the minds of the Jews; whilst a disposition

compassionate and merciful is a token of mortification and of a mind freed by the Gospel from the Law, as are those of true Christians, members of Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LXI.

In what manner a pious person conducts himself in the circumstances which befall him.

I UNDERSTAND that every pious person governs himself in the circumstances which befall him in the present life in this manner. The incidents being of such a nature that his own will does not concur in them, if they be adverse and contrary, as the loss of honour, or of property, or the death of some person that is dear to him, he consoles himself by saying, 'Thus it has pleased God ;' and if they be prosperous and favourable, as in the increase of outward wealth and inward good, he does not swell with pride, for he reflects, 'This has been God's work, and not mine.' The incidents being of such a kind that his own will does concur in them, if they be evil, as are his own short-comings and sins, he embraces Christ, saying, 'If there be in me short-comings and transgressions, in Christ there is satisfaction and justification ;' and if they be good and gracious, either in outward works or inward feelings, he is not arrogantly puffed up, because he sees in such things the goodness of God, and not his own.

And I understand that the satisfaction which such a person finds in the things which he does well, resembles the satisfaction a person feels when he makes a well-shaped letter, because his hand is guided by that of another, a good penman. I mean to say, that just as this person is satisfied at seeing the letter formed by his hand, though not by his own ability, attributing the ability to the hand which guided his, and attributing the defects that are in the letter to himself, knowing that the other would have made it much better with *his* hand ; so the spiritual person feels contented when considering the works that God operates in him and by him, attributing them to God, and attributing to himself the errors that are in them, knowing that they would be much better had God performed them without him. That this is true, those persons will understand from personal experience, who have that relish of the things of the Holy Spirit, which they acquire through Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LXII.

That human wisdom has no greater jurisdiction in forming
 a judgment of the works of those who are
 sons of God, than it has in those of
 God Himself.

In the same manner, and for the same reason that St. Paul understood that they who are led (*ἄγονται*) by the Spirit of God are the sons of God (Rom. viii. 14), do I understand that they who are the sons of God are led by the Spirit of God.

And I understand that just as human wisdom is incapable of the knowledge of God, so similarly it is incapable of the knowledge of those who are the sons of God, and that just as human wisdom does not fathom and apprehend the admirable counsel there is in the works of God, so neither does it fathom and apprehend the divine counsel involved in the works of those who are the sons of God, for both the one and the other are wrought by the Spirit of God.

Moreover I understand that when human wisdom assumes to sit in judgment on the works of those who are sons of God, condemning and censuring them, it acts with the same rashness which is

shown when it presumes to sit in judgment upon the works of God Himself, condemning and calumniating them.

I mean to say, that that rashness is no less with which men who follow the judgment of human wisdom take upon themselves to condemn Moses, because of the Jews whom he slew when they worshipped the calf (Exod. xxxii. 26—28), and when they take upon themselves to condemn Abraham, because he commanded his wife Sarah to utter a falsehood, saying that she was his sister, and not his wife (Gen. xii. 12 and 13), and to condemn St. Paul for cursing Ananias, before whom he was standing for judgment (Acts xxiii. 1—5), and for excusing the curse by saying that he did not know him; and similarly when they take upon themselves to sit in judgment upon things like these which the sons of God do, being guided by the Holy Spirit, which according to the judgment of human wisdom are absurd and reprehensible, and according to the judgment of God are holy and good,—I say that this is no less rashness than that with which they take upon themselves to judge evil of God, because He favours many undeserving people with worldly prosperity, and keeps many good men destitute, and because He does many other things which human wisdom speaks evil of and condemns, and for which human laws punish rigorously those who do them.

Since human wisdom has no greater jurisdiction in passing a judgment upon the works of the pious than it has upon the works of God, the latter being done by God Himself, and the former by them who, being the sons of God, are swayed by the Spirit of God, and who on this account are free and exempt from every human law, as God Himself is free and

exempt; I mean to say, that men would have been no more justified in punishing Abraham, had he slain his son Isaac, than in condemning God because He cuts off many by sudden death.

But this guidance of the Spirit of God, is neither known nor understood, save by those who participate of this Spirit of God, as it is experimentally known, and according to what is said of it by St. Paul, the great preacher of the Gospel of God and of Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LXIII.

That the Holy Scripture is like a candle in a dark place, and that the Holy Spirit is like the sun:

this is shown by seven illustrations.

ST. PETER, in his second Epistle, chapter i. 19, judges that the man who seeks to be pious, having no other light than that of the Holy Scriptures, is like a man who stands in a dark place, having no other light in it than that of a candle; and he judges that the man who seeks to be pious, having obtained the Spirit of God to guide him and bring him forward in it, is like a man who stands in a place where the rays of the sun enter, which make it bright and resplendent. Whereupon I consider seven things.

The first, that as the man who stands in the dark

NOTE TO
CONSIDERATION LXIII.

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The teaching of Valdés, in Consideration LXIII., as declared by Dr. Boehmer in his article upon the *Biography and Writings of Valdés*, in Herzog's Theological and Ecclesiastical Encyclopedia, is this: 'Valdés would here teach nothing other than that the Holy Spirit, as the fountain of Holy Scripture, stands higher than it; that He alone, from whom it is derived, opens its true understanding, whilst no other spirit can do so, (*compare Consideration LXVIII.*) That He, moreover, has reserved to Himself the power immediately to reveal the eternal truth there recorded, in order to be read by the aid of His immediate inspiration; and that He actually exerts this inspiration; and that this knowledge taken at the fountain head, is fresher than that got from the conduit, and more abundant than that which is there metted out. Whence it is evident that any spirit, in contradiction of the Holy Spirit's speaking in the words of Holy Scripture, would not be a Holy Spirit but an Evil one.'

place is better off with a candle than without it, so the man who seeks to be pious, which is with regard to him a dark place forasmuch as his reason and human wisdom rather prejudice him with reference to it than prove useful to him, is better off with Holy Scripture than without it.

The second thing that I consider is, that as the man in a dark place does not see the things that are in it as clearly and plainly with the candle as he would see them with the sun, just so the man who is intent on piety neither understands nor does he know the things of God, nor God Himself, so clearly and plainly by Holy Scripture as he would be able to see and know them by the Spirit of God.

The third thing that I consider is, that as the man who stands in a dark place, with the light of the candle only, is in danger of being left in the dark, should anything happen to extinguish the candle, so the man who, intent on piety, has no other light than that of Holy Scripture, is in danger of being left without light, should anything happen that would deprive him of Holy Scripture, or of the right apprehension of it.

The fourth thing that I consider is, that as to the man who stands in a dark place, where there is the light of a candle, it happens at times, that desiring it should give more light, he either snuffs it himself, or gets some one else to snuff it for him, and it comes to pass that it is put out in the snuffing, and the man is left without light; just so it is with the man who is intent on piety, being only aided therein by that which he knows and understands of Holy Scripture; it comes to pass at times, that desiring to understand more and better, either of itself, or through its instrumentality, he either interprets it himself, or gets

some one else to interpret it for him, and it comes to pass that in interpreting it, by converting Holy Scripture into human composition, the man remains in the dark, although he may persuade himself that he is not so.

The fifth thing that I consider is, that as it happens when the rays of the sun, by penetrating a dark place where the man was using only the light of a candle, enable the man to see there more clearly than before, all the things that are in that place,—the candle becoming dim and as it were without brilliancy, so that when the man is desirous of seeing the things that are on that spot, the candle is that to which he pays the least attention:—just so, when the Holy Spirit enters into the mind of a man intent on piety, and availing himself to that end of Holy Scripture, it comes to pass that the man understands and knows the things of God and God Himself more clearly than he did previously, the Holy Scripture being, as far as he is concerned, as it were without light and brilliancy, so that now, desiring to understand objects connected with piety and to know God, what engages his attention least is Holy Scripture, being fixed on considering what is presented to his mind by the Holy Spirit, and not what is recorded in Scripture.

And therefore it is well that St. Peter commends the study of Holy Scripture, restricting it, however, to the time during which man is shut up in the dark place of human wisdom and reason, and desires that this study last until the light of the Holy Spirit shine into the soul; understanding that when this light has come, man has no longer need to seek that of Holy Scripture, which goes out of itself, just as the light of a candle goes out of itself when the rays

of the sun force their way in upon it, and just in the same way as Moses goes out at the coming of Christ, and the Law at the presence of the Gospel.

The sixth thing that I consider is, that as the man who enjoys the light of the sun, were he to know assuredly that it would never fail him, although he would not throw the candle away on account of the benefit received, but would, on the contrary, leave it, in order that it might assist others in the way in which it has assisted him, he would not therefore avail himself of it for objects with reference to which he had previously used it; just so the man who enjoys the light of the Holy Spirit, being assured that it can never fail him, though he does not throw the Holy Scriptures aside, nay, on the contrary, he leaves them, in order that they may assist others in that wherein they have served him, still for all that he does not employ them as he previously did, as I have remarked in divers places already.

The seventh thing that I consider is, that as it is not inherently essential in the sun, when it enters the place where there is a candle, that it should show and discover all that enters into the candle's composition, just so likewise neither is it of the essence of the Holy Spirit, when He enters the mind of a man who, intent on piety, avails himself of Holy Scripture, to show and discover all the secrets that are involved in it, although He shows and discovers that part of them which God desires be discovered to the man to whom the Holy Spirit is given.

The gifts of the Holy Spirit are diverse; and the Holy Scriptures being written by divers persons, who had different gifts of the Holy Spirit, they thus wrote differently; it is, consequently, understood by individuals who have the Holy Spirit, by one in one

part, and by another in another part; even as the gifts are diverse which God communicates to them, with the Holy Spirit, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LXIV.

As to the manner in which our Lord Jesus Christ desires to be followed and imitated.

HAVING already at other times alluded in these Considerations to the mode in which I then understood what our Lord Jesus Christ says in Matt. xvi. 24, '*Qui vult venire post me, abneget semetipsum, et tollat crucem suam, et sequatur me,*' 'He who will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me,' I now proceed to say, with maturer consideration, what I understand Christ to express in those words, namely, 'Let every one who shall desire to follow Me, who shall be desirous of being a Christian, renounce that which human wisdom teaches, saying, "That man should not be wanting to himself, to his connections, nor to his honour, from the motive of not being found wanting to God, to His people, nor to the honour of God;" and let him take up his cross, which is his martyrdom, the shame and the ignominy which he will suffer in the eyes of men of the world, in being wanting to self, to his own connections, and to his honour. And doing so he will follow Me, who was wanting to Myself, making

Myself of a son, a servant, in order not to be wanting towards God ; and I was wanting to Mine own, in not holding any to be Mine, save those whom God has called and made Mine, making them holy and just ; and I was wanting to My honour, in consenting to die as a malefactor ; and he who, doing thus, shall follow Me, will “ be truly a Christian.” So that, properly, the prejudice and shame which result to the Christian, by the denial of himself, in being wanting to himself, to his own connections, and to his honour, is the Christian’s cross and is the same actually as following Christ.

I mean to say, that these words of Christ are tantamount to this, as if I should say : He who will be a Christian, let him esteem himself dead to the world, so far as not to seek worldly fame or reputation ; and let him aim at that at which Christ aimed, and let him seek that which Christ sought, and in this mode he will be a true Christian, as are they who, knowing and feeling themselves to be bought by Christ, hold and acknowledge Him for Lord and master, and such persons worship the true God in Spirit and in truth, who is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

CONSIDERATION LXV.

How that passage is to be understood in which St. Paul says that Christ reigns and shall reign until, the resurrection of the just being accomplished, He deliver up the kingdom to His Eternal Father.

THE men who are subject to rule in the kingdom of this world, live under four very cruel tyrants—the devil, the flesh, honour, and death. The devil tyrannises over them, renders them impious and enemies of God, and leads them on frequently so to act that they, in different modes, kill themselves. The flesh tyrannises over them, makes them vicious and licentious. Honour tyrannises over them, renders them fickle, vain, and presumptuous, so that in living they die. Death tyrannises over them, does not permit them to enjoy their own prosperity and good fortune, but cuts them off in their career.

This tyranny is not understood save by those who feel it; and they alone feel it who are anxiously desirous to enter into the kingdom of God. They strive after holiness, they labour to mortify the flesh, and they would fain disengage themselves from the world, they repudiate its glory and its

honour, and they meditate to prepare themselves and to be contented to die ; but no sooner do they wish to do this than they find difficulties ; they feel and experience death's tyranny, and they know that they are tyrannised over.

These very persons, if their desire to enter into the kingdom of God be a call of God Himself and not their own caprice, accepting the justice of God executed upon Christ as their own, do in this present life escape from the tyranny of three of the tyrants ; they pass from the kingdom of the world, and through Christ enter into the kingdom of God. I mean to say, that Christ reigns as the Son of God, He being in those who are in His kingdom, and with them properly, what the head is to the members of the body ; for just as virtue and efficacy descend from the head to the members of the body, they being ruled by it, so virtue and efficacy descend from Christ to those who are in the kingdom of Christ, with which they combat the tyrants who despotically rule other men. And thus they are ruled by Christ in this present life, and through Him they shall attain to the resurrection and life eternal ; and thus they shall be brought from subjection to the tyranny of the fourth tyrant, which is death, and shall enter into the kingdom of God, where God Himself will reign.

In the meanwhile, they who have passed from the kingdom of the world, having felt the tyranny of the four tyrants, feel the charm and sweetness of the kingdom of Christ ; experiencing inwardly the virtue and efficacy of Christ and the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and feeling themselves to be lords and masters of their sensual appetites, and of the worldly affections of honour and ambition ; having determined their own course of conduct, and their bearing to the world,

forasmuch as being incorporated into Christ, they find their flesh to be dead, and their regard for the world to be dead likewise, and being assured of their resurrection, immortality, and eternal life. Such assurance works this effect in them, that though they experience death as far as the body is concerned, yet through an assured hope of the resurrection they do not feel it as to the soul. I understand the kingdom of Christ to consist in this.

And because when the resurrection of the just shall have been accomplished we shall no longer have to resist the devil, nor will it be necessary to mortify the flesh, nor to oppose the world, nor will it then remain to conquer death, I understand what St. Paul says, that then 'Christ will deliver up the kingdom to His Eternal Father, and that God shall be all in all' (1 Cor. xv. 24—28), ruling and governing everything Himself. So that the kingdom of Christ, according to St. Paul, shall last until the universal resurrection, and the kingdom of God in men shall then commence, and be permanent, men continually acknowledging the benefit received from Jesus Christ our Lord.

As it happens to a thirsty traveller to whom a glass of spring water is presented; while drinking he feels the use of the vessel which holds the water given him, and having drunk, when the glass is laid aside, he thanks the individual who gave him drink, though he knows that he received that benefit by means of the glass. And just as the grateful traveller who is refreshed with a glass of cold water, experiences, while he drinks, the use of the glass, and after he has drunk, feeling and acknowledging the kindness of the individual who gave him the glass, knows likewise the advantage of the glass; so

men, whilst they are in this present life, experience the kingdom of Christ, knowing by experience the benefit of Christ, and in the life eternal they will feel and know the kindness of God, who has given them Christ, and they will acknowledge the benefit rendered by Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LXVI.

Whence it is that the Evil Spirit is more impetuous
than the Holy Spirit.

BEING desirous of understanding which spirit is the more impetuous in man, the Holy Spirit or the Evil Spirit, I come to the conclusion that the Evil Spirit is much more impetuous in the wicked man than the Holy Spirit in the good man, being brought to this conclusion by two considerations; one of which is founded on the peculiar nature of spirits, for the Evil Spirit is by nature impetuous, and the Holy Spirit is by nature gentle and quiet—so much so, that if there be occasionally impetuosity or change in the latter, such excitement is not inherent, but owing to the liveliness of the man's flesh, in and by whom the Holy Spirit operates; and the other is based upon the peculiar nature of man, for he being more inclined to the movements of the Evil Spirit than to those of the Holy Spirit, it comes to pass that he is inclined towards those of the Evil Spirit by his

own peculiar nature, whilst he is by the very same cause averse to those of the Holy Spirit.

So that the Evil Spirit being in its own nature impetuous, and being stimulated in the wicked man by his own peculiar nature, and the Holy Spirit being obstructed in the good man by his own peculiar nature in so far as he is man, it comes to pass that the Evil Spirit is more impetuous in the wicked man than the Holy Spirit in the good one.

Whilst I understand that the Holy Spirit is wont to be anything but impetuous in the wicked man, and that the Evil Spirit is more or less impetuous in the good man, according as he finds greater or less liveliness of affections within him; and I understand the movement of the Holy Spirit to be more or less efficient in the same man, according as his self-mortification is greater or less, since the force and impetus of the Evil Spirit are increased by the vividness of the affections and appetites of the good man, and are repressed and obstructed by mortification; and as it is moreover true that the movements of the Holy Spirit are retarded and repressed by the liveliness of the affections and appetites of the good man, and are increased and developed by mortification. Understanding all this to be true, I understand likewise that the good man who shall desire that the movements of the Evil Spirit be neither powerful nor efficient within him, and that the movements of the Holy Spirit be energetic and efficient within him, must attend to the mortification of his affections and appetites, earnestly seeking to slay in himself all that is derived from Adam, and to quicken all that he derives from Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LXVII.

That as they alone who are regenerated by the Holy Spirit have any experience in divine things, so likewise they alone have assurance of them.

ALL that is done, known, and understood in this life, is so either by natural instinct, or by experience, or by information, or by divine inspiration and revelation.

Animals have natural instinct and experience, as all may know by consideration. Men are generally endowed with natural instinct and experience as are the animals, but of far greater excellence; and they are susceptible of information too, which I understand to consist in what one man learns of another, having thereby no greater assurance than the report which is made to him, and this as much in divine things as in worldly ones.

Those regenerated by the Holy Spirit are endowed with natural instinct, experience, and information, and in addition, with divine inspiration and revelation. I mean to say, that regenerate men know, are acquainted with, and understand some things by natural instinct, some by experience, some by information, and some by divine inspiration, natural instinct being less defiled and more pure in them than in other men. They are experienced not only in natural and human things, as are other men, but likewise in things

spiritual and divine ; whilst they not only acquire information from other men, but likewise by inspiration and revelation from God.

All men who are destitute of the Holy Spirit, are without experience in spiritual and divine things, having only that knowledge of them which is acquired from the Holy Scriptures ; whence it comes to pass, that just as in human and natural things of which they have no experience, knowing nothing but by report, they can but hold an opinion, and are wholly destitute of certainty, just so in divine things, being without experience, they can only hold an opinion, but are wholly destitute of certainty.

Since where there is no experience there can be no certainty, and since experience in the things of God is reserved for those who have the Spirit of God, they, having experience in spiritual things, know that they know them, and that they understand also natural and human things.

I mean to say, that there is as much difference between what regenerate men know, are acquainted with, and understand of divine things, and what other men know, are acquainted with, and understand of the same, however wise they may be, as there is between what they who are only conversant with medicine theoretically know, are acquainted with, and understand of medicine, and what medical men know and understand of it, who to theory have added practice. Hence I am led to infer that unregenerate men, not having experience in divine things, can have neither fixed and firm reliance, nor distrust, but only an opinion such as they form in human things.

And hence the truth of what I have written in another consideration (VII.), that God frequently gives pious persons some things which they have no

confidence of obtaining, while He denies them some others which they confidently expect to realise ; but let it be understood that this comes to pass when their reliance and their distrust is based upon information and opinion, and not upon experience and certainty.

Again, I come to the conclusion that regenerate men, being experienced in spiritual things, have certainty in reference to them, and that, having certainty, they attain also to both fixed and firm confidence and distrust. And hence that proves true which I have written in another consideration (LIX.), that by the certainty or uncertainty which pious persons find in themselves in prayer, they are enabled to know when they are inspired to pray by the Holy Spirit, and when they are moved to pray by the spirit of man, and consequently when they have cause to rely and when to distrust.

Hezekiah, the king of Judah, was experienced in spiritual things, and for this reason : being inspired to pray in his sickness, he prayed, and his life was prolonged even as he trusted ; and the same king, distrusting his ability to obtain by prayer that God would revoke His sentence against Jerusalem, declined to pray. Had he not had experience in divine things, and had he been ruled only by information, he would have prayed with so much greater confidence in asking the revocation of the sentence against Jerusalem, since by prayer he had obtained the revocation of the sentence against his own life ; but having experience, he ceased to be governed by information, and thus he stood firm in confidence, and firm in distrust. And if experience of divine things taught this to one of those who had but Moses' spirit, how much better will it teach those who have the Spirit of Jesus Christ our Lord ?

CONSIDERATION LXVIII.

The craving in man after knowledge is an imperfection, though in the judgment of human wisdom it be the reverse.

HUMAN wisdom believes the craving after knowledge to be a great perfection in man, and the Holy Spirit adjudges it to be a great imperfection in him. Human wisdom confirms its opinion by saying that it is matter of experimental observation that those men have lived most virtuously in the world, who, having the greatest desire after knowledge, have resigned themselves the most to this longing, and they have known the most, and here it instances a multitude of philosophers.

The Holy Spirit, on the other hand, confirms His sentence by saying that it was through the craving after knowledge that sin came into the world, and through sin, death, and with it all the miseries and all the trials to which we are in this life subject. And that this is true He proves by the suggestion of the devil, who said to Eve, '*Eritis sicut Dii, scientes bonum et malum,*' 'Ye shall be as Gods, knowing good and evil' (Gen. iii. 5).

Still further, the Holy Spirit declares that it was the craving after knowledge which destroyed the Jews, for being desirous of understanding the pro-

phesies which speak of the Messiah, and seeking to understand them by their natural capacity and by human discourse, they imagined and portrayed to themselves a Messiah, so contrary to Him whom God sent them, that when He appeared they knew Him not, and not knowing Him, they did not receive Him; and from their not receiving Him it came to pass that not only did they not rejoice in Him, but involved themselves in ruin and perdition.

Further, the Holy Spirit declares that the Gentiles, craving to know the origin and beginning of natural objects, tried to know them by their natural ability and their own discourses. Whence that was brought about of which St. Paul speaks, when he says, '*Evanuerunt in cogitationibus suis*,' 'They grew vain in their thoughts,' and worshipped created objects, and precipitated themselves into things absurd, filthy, and unbecoming (Rom. i.).

Similarly the Holy Spirit declares that many persons craving to know the things pertaining to the Christian religion, and seeking to do so by the light of nature, have formed such strange conceptions of God and of Christ, of Christianity and of the Christian life, that it may truly be said, that they have nothing of Christ but the name; committing, on the one hand, the error of the Jews, inasmuch as they read the Holy Scriptures, and desiring to understand them, and endeavouring to do so not with the spiritual light with which they were written, but with the light of nature, they do not understand them; and committing, on the other hand, the error of the Gentiles, inasmuch as, desirous of knowing what the Gentiles knew, they read what the Gentiles wrote, and feel what the Gentiles felt, and mould their minds in a Gentile frame.

The Holy Spirit having justified His sentence against the craving after knowledge with which men are possessed, declares moreover that the virtue which is acquired by craving to know, and by knowing what may be known by the light of nature, is rather vice than virtue, since it makes men presumptuous and insolent, and consequently irreligious and unbelieving.

That this is true, agrees with the fact, that they who follow the light of nature, in proportion as they are more virtuous according to the world, so likewise do they place less trust in God, and so much the less do they believe in Christ, and are for that very reason the more irreligious and the more unbelieving; so that it is correct to state that the craving after knowledge is in man a great imperfection.

I learn two things by this argument; the first, that human wisdom has no jurisdiction in judging of man's perfection or imperfection. The second corresponds with it, namely, that it is the duty of every man who is called by God to the grace of the Gospel to mortify and slay the inward craving after knowledge, let the mode of its manifestation be whatever it may, in order to escape the fault of false Christians, of the Gentiles, and of the Jews, and to avoid that into which our first parents fell, and to arrive at that perfection which St. Paul attained, neither craving after, nor seeking to know anything, save Christ, and Him crucified. Which knowledge we ought to crave and seek after, but with prayer to God; we who, having accepted the grace of the Gospel, are true Christians, incorporated in Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LXIX.

That man should ever recognise himself to be incredulous and wanting in faith; and that a man's faith is in proportion to his knowledge of God and of Christ.

WHEN I consider the very great efficacy which our Lord Jesus Christ attaches to faith, declaring that, however small it may be, we might with it remove mountains from one spot to another (Matt. xvii.), reverting then to myself, and finding myself wanting in faith of such power, I know how weak and feeble my faith is; and then I direct my spirit to God, saying with the Apostles, '*Domine, auge mihi fidem,*' 'Lord, increase my faith' (Luke xvii. 5), and saying with the father of the lunatic, '*Domine, adjuva incredulitatem meam,*' 'Lord, help my unbelief' (Mark ix. 24). And understanding that faith has to come to me as the gift of God, and holding it to be a thing assured, that I shall have faith in proportion to my knowledge of God and of Christ (since men, however well they may be informed by other men, only confide in them to the extent of their knowledge of them), I address myself to God, to ask of Him that He would deign to make Himself known to me, and that He would permit me to see Him, and that it may be granted me to know and see Christ as

much as may be in this present life, in order that I may have confidence, and that in this way my faith may be strong and effectual.

Hence I consider the craft of the enemy of the human race and the arch-enemy of Christ, who, forasmuch as he understood with what intent Christ magnified the power of faith which led men, however much they believed and however much they confided, ever to judge themselves to be incredulous and wanting in faith ; Satan has brought it to pass, that it is, among those who accept the Gospel of Christ, honourable to believe, and dishonourable to be unbelieving or sceptical ; so that they, persuading themselves that their honour is involved in their belief, should not recognise themselves to be incredulous and wanting in faith, and that thus they should never come to attain what Christ insists upon that they ought to attain, namely, the knowledge of God and of Christ, and through knowledge, faith, and through faith, justification ; and through justification, glory and eternal life.

And the blindness and the ignorance of men who see only through the eyes of human wisdom, is indeed great in everything ; but greatest in this, for rejecting hearsay testimony in secular matters, and admitting only certain knowledge and personal experience, it accepts hearsay as sufficient evidence in divine matters, both for itself and others, as carrying conviction, not abiding by certain knowledge nor personal experience ; on the contrary, neither pretending to the one nor striving after the other, and what is worse, rebuking those who aim at certainty of knowledge and seek experience, being dissatisfied with the hearsay report of others.

Now I understand that those persons have cer-

tainty of knowledge in divine things who know God and Christ by revelation and inspiration, concerning which things they alone can testify who have them, and their testimony is true.

Others, if they give hearsay evidence concerning them, their testimony is not true, for they do not feel as they speak.

And I understand that those persons are experienced in these things of God who find and feel within them the results which the knowledge of Christ works inwardly, which makes them righteous, and consequently the results of piety and of justification.

The rest of mankind, when they give evidence in these matters, not having the experience of them, their testimony is not true, for they do not feel what they speak.

I gather from all this, that man ought to judge himself incredulous and wanting in faith whilst he has not that faith which is sufficient to remove mountains from one place to another; and that, adjudging himself to be so, he ought to ask God to give him faith, not contenting himself to testify of divine things upon hearsay and by report, but with certainty of knowledge and upon personal experience.

Further, I am brought to the conclusion, that man has practically as much faith as he has the knowledge of God and of Christ, and that by faith man attains justification, and by justification glory and life eternal; and that God being able to give man in an instant of time so much knowledge of Himself and of Christ, letting Himself be known and showing him Christ, as suffices to induce belief, we ought never to despair of the salvation of man, so long as there is breath in the body, ever hoping that God may do that which He is able and wont to do, letting Himself

be known, and showing him Christ, in order that knowing he may believe and love ; and that believing, he may enjoy Christian justification ; and enjoying Christian justification, he may go to live and reign with Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LXX.

Of the nature of those three gifts of God, FAITH, HOPE, and CHARITY ; and wherein their eminence amongst other gifts consists ; also the pre-eminence of charity.

CONSIDERING that the Apostle places FAITH, HOPE, and CHARITY amongst the highest and most excellent of God's gifts, I have frequently occupied myself in examining in what this eminence consists, and not having been able rightly to understand of what they consist, it appears to me that I have not been able to understand wherein consists their eminence over the rest.

But beginning now, as it appears to me, to understand of what they consist, I begin likewise to perceive wherein their pre-eminence consists.

I understand that FAITH consists in this : that a man believes and holds for certain all that is contained in Holy Scripture, placing his trust in the divine promises contained in them, as if they had been peculiarly and principally made to himself. As to those two

parts of faith, belief and confidence, I understand that the human mind is in some measure capable of the one ; I mean to say, that man is self-sufficient to bring himself to believe, or to persuade himself that he believes ; but I understand him to be incapable of the other ; I mean to say, that he is not self-sufficient to bring himself to confide, nor to persuade himself that he does confide. So that he who believes and does not confide, shows that his belief is due to mental industry and human ability, and not to divine inspiration ; and he that in believing confides, shows that his belief is due to inspiration and revelation. Whence I understand that confidence is a good sign in a man whereby to get assured that his belief is due to inspiration and revelation.

I understand that HOPE consists in the patience and endurance with which the man that believes and confides, awaits the fulfilment of God's promises, without impiously engaging himself in the service of Satan, or vainly in that of the world, or viciously in that of his own fleshly lusts. Like an officer who, having been promised by the emperor that on his arrival in Italy he would give him a commission, although the emperor delays, and he is solicited by many princes, who would avail themselves of his services, he declines to accept any terms, awaiting the emperor's arrival, fearing lest, if he should come and find him in the service of another, he would be unwilling to employ him. This hope presupposes faith. I mean to say, that to wait involves necessarily faith upon the part of him who hopes, by which he credits what has been said to him, and places trust in what has been promised him, for otherwise he could not keep up his expectation. And that hope properly consists in this, I understand from some

passages which we read in the Gospel, like that of the ten virgins who wait for the bridegroom, and that of the servants who await their Lord's return (Matt. xxv.).

I understand that CHARITY consists in love and affection, which the man who believes, confides, and hopes, bears to God and Christ, and similarly to the things of God and Christ, being peculiarly attracted and enamoured by faith, confidence, and hope; so that, because the man who has these three gifts of God, is united to God in believing, hoping, and loving, it is with great reason that these three gifts rank above all others as the highest and most excellent.

Having understood in what these three gifts of God consist, and what constitutes their pre-eminence, and desiring to understand for what cause the same Apostle places CHARITY above FAITH and HOPE as being most eminent (1 Cor. xiii.), I think and hold it for certain that the pre-eminence consists in this: that he who believes and confides will never be firm in faith, unless he find pleasure and relish in believing and confiding; nor will he who hopes be firm in hope, unless he find pleasure and relish in hoping.

CHARITY, then, being that which gives the taste and relish with which FAITH and HOPE are sustained, it plainly follows that charity is more eminent than faith and hope, forasmuch as it maintains and sustains the others, whilst unaided it maintains and supports itself; and inasmuch as FAITH will fail when there will be nothing to believe nor to confide in, and HOPE will fail when, Christ having come again and the resurrection of the just having been accomplished, there will remain nothing more to hope; but CHARITY will never fail, because it will always have objects to love, and will always have what it can enjoy, for in

the life eternal we shall love God and Christ, and we shall find pleasure and relish in the contemplation of God and Christ; we who in this life have lived in FAITH, HOPE, and CHARITY, incorporated in Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LXXI.

On that most holy prayer, the Lord's prayer.

IN that most holy prayer, our Lord's prayer, I find occasion for the following reflections:—

First, that in calling God Father, it is right that I bring myself to hope from God all that an obedient son can hope from an exceedingly good and loving father; and this notwithstanding I am a disobedient son, for God does not look upon me as I am in myself, but as I am in Christ, of whom I am a member; and He was the most obedient Son, and through this affiliation do I call God Father. If I should call Him Father through ordinary generation, this would imply my natural being; but, calling Him Father though individual regeneration does not imply my being, except so far as to render me obedient or disobedient, but, as I have said above, the being of Christ, who was most obedient. And I understand it moreover to be needful that I should bring myself to be such with God, as a good and obedient son is with his father.

Secondly, I consider that in saying 'Our Father' I presuppose that I hold all those for brethren who

by regeneration have God for their Father, and that I ought to bear myself towards them as brethren.

Thirdly, I consider that, forasmuch as God *is* where He is known, the Holy Scriptures are wont to represent Him as being in heaven, because it is there that He is known. God is in all His creatures, but it is not said that He abides in any, save in those who know Him, or to whom He makes Himself known.

Fourthly, I consider that it is peculiarly the desire of the devout Christian that God's name be sanctified; I mean to say, that God be esteemed and adjudged by every one as holy and just in all His works, as He in truth is. Human wisdom not finding either holiness or righteousness in many things that occur to men in this life, avoiding the impropriety of attributing injustice to God, falls into another, by taking from Him His particular providence in all things. And the Holy Spirit, knowing that holiness and justice are ranged on the side of God in all things, does not hesitate to attribute them all to God, desiring men to subjugate the judgment of their human wisdom, and to sanctify the name of God, in confessing and in feeling that God does all things, and that holiness and justice pervade them all. There are some men who sanctify God in the things they deem good, withdrawing themselves from those which they deem evil; whilst there are others who sanctify God generally in all things, but with the mouth, and not with the heart. But the desire of the devout Christian is, that God be sanctified in all things, and that the sanctification proceed from the heart, because God wills that He be sanctified in this manner.

Fifthly, I consider the devout Christian's peculiar and constant aspiration consists in desiring that the kingdom of God may very speedily come, when the

resurrection of the just having been accomplished, Christ shall deliver up the kingdom to His Eternal Father ; for that will be the kingdom of God in a special sense, inasmuch as the just will be governed immediately by God, seeing Him face to face. God reigns in the Just, in this present life, but through Christ, just as He gives light, but through the sun ; and in the life eternal, God will reign Himself as He Himself will then give light (Rev. xxi.).

Sixthly, I consider that devout Christians fleeing from the will of God, which is associated with wrath, and from that which is mediate, through what are termed second causes, supplicate that that will of God be done here on earth which is done in heaven, understanding thereby that which is associated with mercy and love, which is immediate, by God Himself.

Seventhly, I consider that pious Christians, feeling that they eat the bread of anxiety and sorrow because of the curse consequent on the sin of the first man, pray God that, freed from anxiety and sorrow, He would supply them with ordinary food, so that they may, without anxiety and sorrow, be provided for and sustained according to their necessities, they acknowledging their maintenance to be due solely to God's bounty ; and beginning herein to feel the remedy of the first man's sin, they feel therewith the benefit of Christ.

Eighthly, I consider that devout Christians ever supplicate that He would pardon them those things on account of which He might most justly punish them ; not that they doubt of the general pardon which they have had through the justice of God executed upon Christ, for upon this point they are perfectly assured, but they rejoice in the recollection that

they are debtors, for such remembrance works humility in them before God. And I understand that they allege the pardon which they have granted to those who were indebted to them, rather to put themselves under an obligation to pardon, than that God should on that account pardon them. This I understand from what Jesus Christ Himself adds in the Gospel, saying, ' If ye forgive, ye shall be forgiven (Matt. vi.).

Ninthly, I consider that devout Christians, knowing their weakness, fear temptation, forasmuch as it might lead to a violation of the Christian character ; and knowing at the same time their need of being mortified by temptations, they pray to God, not that they be not tempted, but that the temptations should be of such a kind as not to lead them to forfeit their Christian character.

Tenthly, I consider that devout Christians, being aware how numerous the evils are with which the righteous have to combat, fear lest they should succumb to them, and knowing the weakness of their powers, they recur to God, entreating Him to deliver them from them all.

I understand that devout persons persist and persevere in these petitions, not only from the outward teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ, which they find in the narrative of His life, but likewise from the inward teaching of the Holy Spirit, who implants these desires in their souls, and moves them to ask these things ; and that they who pray, instructed by Christ's outward teaching, but who are not inspired and have not the inward teaching of the Holy Spirit, do not pray like true and living members of our Lord Jesus Christ.

CONSIDERATION LXXII.

That man aspiring to acquire that part of the image of
 God which did not belong to him, lost that part
 which did belong to him.

IN the creation of man I read that he was created in the image and likeness of God ; and somewhat further I read that, aspiring to gain the image of God, he was disobedient to God, and was cast out from the earthly paradise. Whence, understanding that the image and likeness of God in which man was created was different from that to which man in his depravity aspired, I am brought to consider that the image of God in which man was created, was that which belonged to him as man, one compatible with his being, and one which he might attain ; and that the image of God to which man aspired is that which did not belong to him as man, it being peculiar to God, and incommunicable to the creature.

And although from the words which narrate the creation of man it is only to be gathered that the image of God in which he was created consisted in the superiority which he had over all other creatures, nevertheless, from what, as it appears to me, St. Paul felt, and what I see fulfilled in Christ, and see begun in those who are members of Christ, I understand

that beyond the superiority noted in Scripture, man was like God, as to his mind, in piety, righteousness, and holiness, and as to his body, in impassibility and immortality.

I am confirmed in this by bearing in mind that we recover through Christ that which we lost in Adam. Through Adam we lost piety, righteousness, and holiness, and we lost in our bodies impassibility and immortality; and through Christ we recover, in this life, piety, righteousness, and holiness of mind, and in the life eternal we regain bodily impassibility and immortality. And because I see Christ risen, already impassible and immortal, I have said that I see in Him the image of God, complete and perfect, which man lost; and because I perceive that they who are members of Christ, regenerated by the Holy Spirit, have piety, righteousness, and holiness, I have said that I see the image of God which the first man lost incipiently restored in them.

As to the image of God to which man aspired, although I am unable to gather from Holy Scripture that it consisted in aught other than in the knowledge of good and of evil, nevertheless, from what I observe in every man who has not attained Christian regeneration, and especially from what those persons inwardly experience, and know of themselves, who have attained it, I understand that beyond the knowledge of good and evil noted in Scripture, man aspired to the image of God, which consists in the peculiar nature of God, who is self-existent, and gives being and life to everything that is and lives; and for this reason He loves Himself, and for His own sake He loves everything, and it is His will to be loved for His own sake, and supremely so; and has majesty, glory, and omnipotence.

And I think thus, because I understand that the cursed suggestion of the enemy of the human race still lives in man, that the daring aspiration to acquire that image of God, which pertains to God only, and is incommunicable to the creature, still survives. And hence I understand it results that man is not willing to be dependent upon others, but only upon himself, a point that he attends to as diligently as possible; and that he loves himself, and loves everything else with reference to self, and aims at his own glory in everything he possesses, and fain would carry out his every wish. And I understand that the other things in man which are akin to these, such, for instance, as self-esteem, ambition, vainglory, anger, and envy, proceed from the same source.

I understand that in the men who through Christ have attained Christian regeneration, the aspiring after that image of God which does not belong to them is constantly decreasing, whilst they go on to regain that which does belong to them; so that just as piety, righteousness, and holiness increase in them, precisely so self-love, ambition, self-esteem, arrogance, and natural rashness gradually decrease; this most striking effect being wrought in them by the incorporation with which they are incorporated into Christ, through which they come to be humble and obedient sons, and not presumptuous and disobedient like the first man.

The better to understand this, I set myself to consider the relations between God, Man, Satan, and Christ, as being identical with those between a father and a presumptuous son, a wicked servant and an obedient son. And I understand that God did with man, in giving him His image and likeness, what a

father does with his son, in giving him as much authority in his house as is meet for a son to have ; and that man conducted himself towards God, in aspiring to His image, as a presumptuous son does towards his father, when, discontented with the position which he holds in his father's house as a son, he aspires to and seeks the position which his father holds. And the part Satan acted towards man in persuading him to be disobedient to God, was that of a wicked servant towards his master, when he tries to seduce his sons from their obedience, in order to annoy him, and ruin them. And I understand that Christ acted towards God, in voluntarily suffering His justice to be executed upon Him, the part which an obedient son acts towards his father, acquiescing in his father's chastisement inflicted upon him, which he would otherwise have inflicted on another disobedient son, in order to bring him back to his obedience, and to restore him to that position and dignity in his own house which a son ought to have.

From all that has been said I infer two things. First, that the devout Christian makes it his duty to desist from all pretension to that image and likeness of God which does not belong to him, and renounces all craving after knowledge, every form of self-love, ambition, self-esteem, arrogance, and presumption ; and that he aims to regain wholly that image and likeness of God which does belong to him, supplicating of God greater piety, greater righteousness, and greater holiness, and praying for impassibility and immortality.

Secondly, that the devout Christian makes it his duty to know that his restoration proceeds from Christ's obedience, and that his depravity proceeds from Adam's disobedience, and that hence he ceases

to imitate Adam, and is intent upon imitating Christ, *'qui cum in forma Dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est esse se æqualem Deo, sed semet ipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens,'* 'who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: but made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant' (Phil. ii. 6, 7), wherefore God also hath highly exalted Him, and given Him absolute power and pre-eminence in heaven and on earth; of such value before God were the obedience and humility of Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LXXIII.

That the union between God and man is formed by love; that love springs from knowledge; and what knowledge, love, and union are.

I UNDERSTAND that a man's union with God is in exact proportion to the love he bears to God; that if the love be great, the union is great; and that if the love be little, the union is little. There are some men who love God by report, but they do not live united with Him, because they love themselves in the first place before God, loving God for themselves. There are others who love God, for that God Himself, desiring to be loved by them, has allowed Himself to be known and seen by them; these are in

union with God because they love God in the first place before loving themselves, loving themselves for God's sake. In these, as I understand, the union they have with God is as great as is the love which they have to Him, and the love they have to God is as great as is the knowledge they have of God. If the knowledge be entire and perfect, the love is entire and perfect, and the union is entire and perfect ; and on the contrary, in the same way, there is as much perfection or imperfection in the union, as there is perfection or imperfection in the love and knowledge. The same holds true of the relation between love and knowledge.

Whence I understand that because the knowledge which men have of God in this life is imperfect, through the power of our flesh, the love they have to God is also imperfect, and the union which we have with God is imperfect ; and I understand, moreover, that because in the life eternal our flesh will not be vile, but glorious, our knowledge will be perfect, our love will be perfect, and our union will be perfect.

In the meanwhile, I understand that a pious person, who, through God's grace, begins to know God, to love God, and to be united with God, should aim to increase in knowledge, in love, and in union, never judging himself deprived either of the knowledge and love of God, or of union with Him, whilst he finds any degree of true knowledge, any degree of love, any degree of union within him.

As frequently before stated, I understand true and effective knowledge to consist in certain perceptions and apprehensions of the peculiar nature of God, which pious persons acquire, some more and others less, some with greater evidence and others with less

evidence, according to the will of God, which causes such perceptions and apprehensions. Of these, they alone can give testimony who have tasted of them, and so such persons only understand this language, it being wholly unintelligible to all others; that being most true which St. Paul says (1 Cor. ii. 11), that 'man without the Spirit of God understands not the things of the Spirit of God.'

I understand that real and effective love to God consists in a yearning affection borne by man to God and to all divine things; in the desire that God may be known, loved, and appreciated in the world in the manner in which it is right that He should be known, loved, and appreciated with such yearning affection. I understand it to have been Christ's desire that Christians, His people, should utter that first part of the Lord's Prayer, the scope of which is wholly restricted to the glory of God. I understand it to be from this yearning affection that it comes to pass that a man loves God beyond everything, loving everything for God's sake; all creatures in general, because they are His creatures; all mankind, because they are God's creatures, and because it is His will that man should love his neighbour, and every man of what race, rank, or condition soever as his neighbour; and men regenerated by the Holy Spirit, both as creatures of God, as neighbours, and yet more to the extent in which he recognises and sees in them the image and likeness of God after the manner repeatedly described by me already.

Amongst creatures, the man who loves God loves those most which most illustrate the glory of God, and amongst men whom he loves as neighbours, he loves them most whom he sees to be less depraved and less impious; and I say *less*, understanding that

in all who are unregenerated by the Holy Spirit, there is found depravity and impiety. Amongst regenerate men, he who loves God for God's sake, loves those most whom he sees and knows to be most conformed to the image and likeness of God, and in whom he sees this image and likeness most distinct and most natural. And the man who loves God, loves himself as a creature of God, as a neighbour, and in so much as he sees the image and likeness of God restored in himself, not endeavouring nor wishing in any manner to be loved for himself, rather despising and hating the love men bear towards him when they do not love him for God's sake. In this manner I understand that a man who loves God, loves himself for God's sake, and loves all things for God's sake.

And again I understand that the man who loves himself supremely, loves God subordinately to self, aiming to turn the love of God to his own advantage ; he loves the creatures subordinately to self, loving those best from whom he expects to gain most ; he loves mankind subordinately to self, loving those best who are the most useful and necessary to him ; and his love with reference to those whom he thinks to be regenerated Christians is subordinate to self, for he loves those best through whose instrumentality he hopes to be able to attain to piety, righteousness, and holiness, and he determinedly strives and endeavours to be loved from personal motives, and to be loved beyond everything, which, as I have frequently said, is natural to man, who, in seeking to acquire the image of God, seeks that which ill-suits him.

And here I understand that the man who has brought himself to the point of not desiring to be loved, save for the love of God, feeling annoyed by

the love borne him from personal motives, may judge himself to have made great progress in the knowledge and love of God, and to be in union with Him. And I understand this love to be of that sort and quality which those persons have who are united with God, which I understand man to have but in part in this life, but which he will possess in its fulness in the life eternal. And he who shall feel conscious of possessing but a fraction of it will have good cause to live happy and contented, holding that part as an earnest of its increase and its perfection in the life eternal.

Real and effective union between man and God consists in what St. John says (1 John iv. 16), namely, that he who loves God, dwells in God, and God dwells in him. The indwelling of God in man may well be felt, as in fact it is felt, but they can never be made to understand it who do not feel it. Almost the same may be said of the indwelling of man in God ; and I say almost, for it appears possible to make the declaration intelligible, that he who exercises love to God is united to God, dwells in Him, has God ever present to his mind ; just as he who exercises love to a creature is united to it, dwells in it, and has it ever present to his mind. It is very true that not even by this is the abiding of man in God to be understood. I understand by this union that for which Jesus Christ our Lord prayed to His Eternal and Celestial Father, asking Him, in John xvii. 21, that those who were to believe in Him should be one with Him and His Father, and that they should be 'made perfect in one.' From that divine union it comes to pass that man commits himself in all and everything to the will of God, divesting himself of his own will ; and thus he brings himself to will that which God wills, and in the manner He

wills it; to love that which God loves, and in the manner He loves it; and consequently not to will what God does not will, and not to love what God does not love. And the man who is brought thus humbly to surrender himself, may rest assured that he is united to God, and that God dwells in him and he dwells in God, and he will understand that he is to that extent united to God in which he is thus humbly brought to surrender himself; if he be so to a great extent, then the union is intimate; if he be so to a less extent, the union is less intimate. Moreover from this divine union it comes to pass that such a man is pleased and displeased with all that pleases and displeases those that are in the same union, so that there is between them the greatest conformity of will, and the conformity between them is as great as the union which they have with God, and with themselves. This conformity is moreover a good token by which a man may assure himself whether he be united with God, and to what extent he has profited by this union.

Having understood the mode in which the union between man and God is wrought by love, and that love springs from the knowledge that man has of God, and having likewise understood in what the union, love, and knowledge consist, I come to this conclusion, that it is the duty of a person intent upon piety to seek intently to attain the knowledge of God, and with the knowledge, love, and with the love, union, striving to attain all this by the grace of God, occupying himself in attaining self-knowledge, that is, a knowledge of man's weak and wretched being, disenamouring himself of self, not willing to be loved from personal motives, and striving to be loved by God, and in disuniting himself from self, not desirous

that things should be accommodated to his fancy and will, but just as God shall present them to him, either by Himself, or by the agency of man, or that of creatures. And in this way he will attain perfect knowledge of God, perfect love of God, and perfect union with God; not however in the present life, because flesh that has not been resuscitated is unequal to this, but in the life eternal, where the flesh resuscitated will be equal to become, as it then shall become, like the glorious flesh which was resuscitated in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ.

CONSIDERATION LXXIV.

That the experience of pious persons in spiritual things is similar to that of the man in external objects, who, having been blind, begins to see.

I UNDERSTAND that the experience of the man who begins to apprehend spiritual and divine things, and to know them, is similar to that of persons who, having through some accident lost their eyesight, begin to recover it. I mean to say, that as these persons advance in the knowledge of the forms of things, in proportion as they advance in the recovery of their eyesight, first confusedly (as occurred to the blind man in the Gospel, who, when his eyes were first opening so that he saw men, it appeared to

him that they were 'as trees walking,' Mark viii.), and then less confusedly, until at length, by degrees they come to see them and to know them in their real character ; so likewise persons advance in the knowledge of spiritual and divine things in proportion as their minds are progressively purified by faith, by love, and by union with God : at first they know them confusedly, and then less so ; and thus, by degrees, they advance in the knowledge of them, until they arrive, I mean to say, until they come at length to know God, and the things that are God's, as well as we are capable of doing in this present life.

And hence it happens, as I understand, that a person destitute of the Spirit approves that as holy, just, and good, in the things of God, which another person gifted with the Spirit condemns and regards as defective and bad. And hence likewise it follows that what a person who has but little of the Spirit esteems to be well ascertained, another more gifted than he holds to be error ; going on thus, by degrees, to increase the clearness of judgment which spiritual persons form of divine things.

Hence I understand that the error of devout persons, who form fixed notions about spiritual and divine things upon their first apprehension of them, without waiting for more clear and evident knowledge, is not less than that of the blind man, who forms his fixed conceptions of things by what they appeared to him just at the time when he begins to recover his sight, without waiting to see them better and more distinctly.

Moreover, I understand that it behoves every pious person to be very modest and very temperate in approving or condemning things as pleasing or

displeasing to God ; considering that God's judgment of things is very different from that of men, however spiritual they may be ; inasmuch as one largely gifted with the Spirit frequently condemns that of which another, who is less spiritually endowed, approves.

And I understand that only those things ought to be approved as holy, and to be condemned as bad, concerning which we have the sure testimony of Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LXXV.

How it is to be understood that God communicates His
divine treasures to us through Christ ; how God
reigns through Christ ; and how Christ is the
Head of the Church.

WISHING to understand in what manner we who are members of Christ obtain everything of God through Christ, I consider that just as all men who have the clear vision of their outward eyes know the external forms of things through the aid of the sun, in which God has placed His outward light, so all men who have the clear vision of their inward eyes know all inward things through the aid of Christ, in whom, as says St. Paul (Col. ii.), ' God has placed all the treasures of His divinity.' I mean to say,

that just as God having placed all outward light in the sun, this sun emits his rays, which take effect and are potent in those things that are susceptible of their influence, those animals only being deprived of the benefit of the sun which want eyesight and seclude themselves in dens and caverns where the sun's rays cannot penetrate ; in the same manner, God having deposited in Christ all the treasures of His divinity, it is Christ who distributes these His treasures amongst those who, being men, are clothed with the same livery which He wore. These treasures are efficacious in those persons whom God has drawn to the knowledge of Christ, and who are thus members of Christ ; those persons only being deprived of this divine influence who have no knowledge of God, and consequently are not pious, and have no knowledge of Christ, and consequently are not just ; for in them alone the divine treasures which Christ scatters upon men are inefficacious, since they are as destitute of the perception and knowledge of them as is the man that is born blind of the perception and knowledge of the light of the sun. And I understand that just as it becomes him who finds himself suffering under this defect to pray to God that He would open and clear the sightless eyeballs, that he may likewise enjoy the sunshine, for the sun withholds the enjoyment of his rays from none ; so similarly he that does not consciously feel the gifts of God, which are communicated to men by Christ, ought to pray to God, to capacitate and purify him, so that he may be qualified and enabled to receive effectively the divine treasures which Christ showers upon all men, it being assumed that God has deposited them with Him in the interest of all, and that He generally showers them upon all, as St. John perfectly well understood when

he said, 'and of the fulness of Christ have we all received, who are His members, grace and greater grace;' seeing that God gave us through Moses only the Law, whilst through Christ He gives us grace, justifying us through the justice executed upon Christ Himself, and He gives us truth, giving us His Spirit, which teaches us all truth (John i. 17). And forasmuch as all these divine gifts come and will come to men in this life through Christ, and He gives and communicates them, it is said and correctly so, that this is the kingdom of Christ, and that it will last, until the resurrection of the just be accomplished, and that Christ deliver up the kingdom to His Eternal Father (1 Cor. xv. 24).

God reigns now, but through Christ; just as God sends His light, but through the sun; and in the life eternal, God will reign Himself, and will communicate His light. I mean to say, that in the life eternal the divine gifts will come to men immediately from God, and light will come to men immediately from God.

This is the way in which I understand the Benefit of Christ to men and the kingdom of Christ in this present life. I likewise understand the manner in which Christ is the Head of the Church. I mean to say, that I understand that just as vital energy descends from my head to all my members, they being each sustained and governed by it, so vital energy descends from Christ to all those who belong to the Church, they being each sustained and governed by the divine gifts which are communicated to them by Christ.

And I understand that those persons belong to the Church, who, being called of God and brought to the knowledge of Christ, are capable of effectively

receiving the divine treasures which are showered down most abundantly upon all men by the only begotten Son of God, Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LXXVI.

What constitutes offence, and in what manner Christians ought to regulate themselves in relation thereto.

CONSIDERING what importance is attached to giving offence in Holy Scripture, forasmuch as our Lord Jesus Christ threatens the world on account of offences, admonishing us that we give no offence to any who believe in Him; and forasmuch as St. Paul says, that not to offend a Christian, he would cease to eat meat all the days of his life; I have studied to live here below in such a manner that I may not be a cause of offence to any one, and such has been my desire for those whom I love in Christ. And considering, on the other hand, that it is impossible to live in this world without giving offence to some, since Christ Himself did so (Matt. xiii. 41, xv. 12, xxvi. 31), nay, is even called a rock of offence (1 Pet. ii. 8), forasmuch as many, shocked at His humility and low estate, have fallen, and fallen never to rise again,—

First, I have considered that offence is identical with stumbling-block; and thus we are wont to say that he is scandalised by what he hears said, or sees

done, who departs from, or is solicited and tempted to depart from, that which he ought not, or would not otherwise depart from.

Then I have learned from Holy Scripture that God gives offence and is offended ; that God's saints give offence and are offended ; that the world's saints (that is to say, pseudo-saints, those whom men of the world accept as such) give offence and are offended ; and that men of the world, who utterly disregard holiness, give offence, but are not offended.

God gives offence to His saints, when they, being imperfect, set themselves with their natural light in judgment upon God's works ; they are tempted to judge ill of God, or not to believe in His providence. That this is true appears from Psalm lxxiii. 1-15, '*Quam bonus Israel Deus.*' God gives offence, too, to the saints of the world in all things that do not conform to human reason ; for they, having no other light than that of nature, and judging them by it, inculpate and condemn them as bad ; and hence it is that they are with difficulty brought to be willing to attribute a particular providence to God, and that they are unwilling to admit of predestination, unless after their own fashion.

God never gives offence to those who judge His works by spiritual light, nor to them who subjugate their intellect to Him ; neither does God give offence to men of the world, for they do not take Him into account, believing that everything happens fortuitously.

God takes offence, or is tempted to do that to which He is averse, being as He is merciful and pitiful, when they whom He regards as His own, and whom He favours as His own, distrust His promises or His omnipotence and providence, to such an extent,

that by their distrust they provoke Him to chastise them, almost as it were against His will. The Jews offended Him in this manner in the desert, as appears from history and in the 77th and 94th Psalms.

And God is offended moreover by the world's saints in the arrogance and presumption with which they prostitute themselves as saints of God : on this account He is forced to chastise them with blindness, as He chastised the Jews, and as He chastises false Christians.

And God is offended by the wicked, when they, by their sins and vices, show and discover their impiety and infidelity, when He is as it were constrained to destroy them, as appears from many passages in Holy Writ, and particularly by what St. Paul says in Rom. i. 18.

God's saints offend Him in the manner above mentioned ; and they give offence to each other, when the perfect use their liberty more than is convenient in the presence of the imperfect ; by their liberty the latter are tempted to judge ill of Christian faith, or to do as do the perfect, not being sure and certain that they are not doing wrong. St. Paul proposed to himself to be ever on his guard against this kind of offence, as appears from Rom. xiv. 13, and 1 Cor. viii. 13. These give offence to saints of the world when they do not conform with them in things which constitute in their eyes religion and sanctity. The Scribes and Pharisees were thus offended with Christ, as appears in Matt. xv. 1. And the Jews were offended with St. Paul, as appears from this, that even at this day the saints of the world are offended with the epistles which St. Paul wrote, judging them to be prejudicial to Christian life. And thus it may be said that the world's saints have

been broken, and are broken upon Christ, and upon true Christians, and upon things belonging to them, and in proportion as their resemblance to Christ is greater. But the Christians, saints of God, need feel but little care with reference to this offence, for Christ cared but little, saying (Matt. xv. 14), '*Sinite eos, cæci sunt, et duces cæcorum,*' 'Let them alone: they be blind leaders of the blind.' The men of the world are not offended by God's saints, for they do not compete with them. The saints of God are through their imperfection offended by God; and through the same imperfection the imperfect are offended by the perfect, in the manner I have before declared. And the saints of God are offended by the world's saints, being falsely taught and counselled by them; and being persecuted by them with calumny, with maltreatment, and with death, they are tempted to sever themselves from the Gospel and from Christ. This is the offence on account of which Christ threatens the world, and against which Christ exhorts every one to be on his guard (Matt. xviii. 7).

The saints of God are likewise offended by impious men (although they may conceal their offences), for in seeing their irreligious and infidel conduct they are tempted to the like, or are annoyed by them. Lot was scandalised in this mode with the filthy conduct of the men of Sodom, as appears from 2 Peter ii. 7.

The world's saints give offence to God and to the saints of God in the manner aforesaid; and they likewise are offended by God and by His saints as I have described. They give offence to each other, for it is a marvel if one be found that approves another's mode of life; which might naturally be expected from worldly sanctity, which consists in

superstitious observances. They are offended by men of the world because they conform to them in nothing.

Men of the world give offence to God and to the false saints in the manner I have stated ; but they never give offence in any way to each other, for they make no account of God, of religion, or of piety.

It is true that there is a class of worldly men, who, by the conversation which they have with the world's saints, affecting a certain kind of sanctity, give offence to each other as do the world's saints, although they are not so pernicious as these latter.

From the whole of this argument I conclude that every Christian's mind has to be so inwardly moulded as to be like that of God and of Christ, that it may be wholly offended with those things which give offence to God ; that is to say, with the distrust and doubts of those who are the saints of God, but imperfect ; with the arrogance of the world's saints ; and with the vices and sins by which worldly men manifest the ungodliness and infidelity of their minds.

The Christian has attentively to regulate his style of life, that it may be like that of the life of Christ our Lord ; that he give no offence in any way to God, by distrusting or doubting His promises, His omnipotence and providence ; that he do not in any way scandalise the saints of God ; holding it lightly that he scandalise the world's saints when the glory of God, Christian verity, and the edification and profit of the saints of God are involved, as did Christ, from what appears in Matt. xv. 1-12, and as did St. Paul, and as have done, and continue progressively to do, those who have followed and imitated, and who follow and imitate Christ. Let the false saints

stumble, fall, break their necks, rather than Gospel truth or the saints of God suffer detriment of any kind.

Hence if any one shall doubt, saying, how ought I to regulate myself, when I shall be constrained to give offence, either to the saints of God, who, as being superstitious, are imperfect, or to the saints of God who never have been superstitious? I shall say to him, let him beware of doing as did St. Peter in Antioch (Gal. ii. 11, 12), who, showing greater regard to those who were superstitious, gave offence, causing those to stumble who had never been so;—I mean to say, that in showing consideration for the superstition and pertinacity of the Jewish converts, he offended and jeopardised the sincerity of the faith of the Gentile converts, by feigning to observe the law, in opposition to Christian faith;—and I shall tell him to do as St. Paul did at that time, who, being more concerned that the faith of those Gentiles should not be offended, than for the superstition of those Jewish converts, rebuked St. Peter publicly (Gal. ii. 11–14). I mean to say, that if an individual, a Christian, who understands Evangelical truth and is versed in the Christian faith, shall find himself amongst those who understand and are conversant with both one and the other, accommodating himself to their incapacity and weakness, he shall do as they do, endeavouring with tact to bring them to the knowledge of both. I say moreover, that in the instance where he shall find himself in company with persons of both classes, if he shall think that by dissimulating with those who still hold superstitious notions to some extent, he may give offence and induce the fall of those who are free from superstition, (for that in seeing him involved in superstition they may be led to hold the

superstition as essential,) he ought not to dissemble in any manner, even though he may think his life to be thereby imperilled, being ever on the watch, that Christian faith and Evangelical truth be upheld and unshaken. I will here add this, that when a man, a Christian, scandalises a Christian conversant with Evangelical truth, in order not to offend another Christian who as yet understands it but imperfectly, if his error proceed from a regard to wealth or rank, through the one being more wealthy or more influential than the other, his error is intolerable, and that if his error proceed from indiscretion, or from weakness and infirmity, it is tolerable.

From the above remarks I learn these thirteen things.

First, what constitutes offence.

Secondly, that in order that I may not be offended by the works of God, I must renounce my prudence and human wisdom, and pray to God that He may give me spiritual light, by which I may understand His works.

Thirdly, that I offend God whenever I distrust Him as to His works and promises, His omnipotence and providence.

Fourthly, that I ought to guard myself as much as shall lie in my power against the exercise of my Christian liberty in the presence of Christians who are weak and infirm in faith.

Fifthly, that I ought to feel but little the offence which the world's saints receive from Evangelical truth.

Sixthly, that the scandal which is injurious to him that gives offence is that wrought by the world's saints, in pretending to render service to God.

And here I learn that I ought to guard myself as

from fire, against persecuting any one in any manner, pretending in that way to serve God.

Seventhly, that I ought to hold it a good sign of piety when the works proceeding from the impiety and infidelity of men of the world give me offence.

Eighthly, that a good sign by which to recognise the world's saints is the facility with which they are offended by every description of person, and their ostentation and manifestation of being so.

Ninthly, that it is a sign of impiety for a man not to be shocked or offended at anything.

Tenthly, that it is right for me to be inwardly like God and Christ, in order that I may not take offence save in that which offends God and Christ.

The eleventh is, that I must needs live as Christ lived, in order to give no other offence than that which He gave.

The twelfth is, that I ought in no way to offend any one to the damage of the Christian faith, although I may know that the cause of offence is due to the weakness and infirmity of imperfect Christians.

The thirteenth thing that I herein learn is, that when I shall give offence to the prejudice of the Christian faith through indiscretion, weakness, or infirmity, my error will be tolerable; and when I shall give offence to the prejudice of the Christian faith through avarice or ambition, my error will be intolerable; and I am sure that God will keep me from this error, and furthermore that He will keep all those whom He has called to the acceptance of the grace of the Gospel, and to be heirs with Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LXXVII.

The contrarieties between those who live after the flesh,
and those who live after the Spirit.

CONSIDERING that men who live after the flesh, in their unguarded moments, believe little, confide less, whilst they love still less, which they themselves know and feel to be the case, and which they prove by their conversation, although not wishing to manifest it; and considering that these same men, when they rely upon themselves, persuade themselves that they believe much and confide much, and that they love still more; and considering, on the other hand, that they who live after the Spirit, when unguarded, believe, confide, or love, little or much, according to the measure of the Spirit they possess, as they themselves inwardly both know and feel to be the fact, and as they evince by their conversation, speaking with greater devoutness, with greater faith, with greater confidence, and with greater affection of the things of God, when they speak without excitement, and when the impulse of the Spirit moves them to speak of things affecting godliness, faith, confidence, and love, than could all the men of the world together when they with labour and effort set themselves to speak of them; and considering, likewise, that it frequently happens that these same persons, when most

self-collected, are unable to bring themselves to believe or even to confide, and still less to love ; I have occupied myself in discovering whence effects so contrary proceed.

And I find that one part proceeds from what Christ says (Matt. xii. 34), '*ex abundantia cordis os loquitur,*' 'for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.' Whence it comes to pass that he who lives after the flesh, not having in his heart either faith, confidence, or love, cannot give of that which he has not got, and consequently cannot unpremeditatedly exhibit faith, confidence, and love ; and because he that lives after the Spirit, has a heart teeming with piety, faith, confidence, and love, being able to give of that which he has got, it is unavoidable, however great his self-possession may be, but that he gives forth piety, faith, confidence, and love, and for this reason the Holy Scripture calls the mouth of the just a vein or 'well' of life (Prov. x. 11).

And again I find that the other part of these contrarieties proceeds hence : that the man who lives after the flesh, disregarding the state of the heart, persuades himself that he believes, that he confides, and that he loves, at the time he but does so with the intellect, since he knows that it is indispensable for a Christian that he believe, that he confide, and that he love, and he then persuades himself that he believes, confides, and loves. And they who live after the Spirit, because they attach importance to the state of the heart, dissatisfied with a faith, a confidence, and a love, restricted to the head, cannot persuade themselves that they believe, confide, and love, unless they at the same time feel the effects of confidence and love in their hearts. And forasmuch as this conscious perception is due to the grace of

God, who vouchsafes it not when man wills it, but when it pleases His Divine Majesty, hence it comes to pass that they who live after the Spirit find it more difficult to believe, to love, and to confide just at the time when they most earnestly desire to do so.

From this it is to be gathered, that a judgment is to be formed of what a man has within himself by what he shows outwardly in his unguarded moments ; and further, it may be known whether his faith, confidence, and love emanate from the head or the heart, by the facility or the difficulty with which the man persuades himself that he believes, confides, and loves. And thus we come to this conclusion, that they who without premeditation speak most like Christians, and who find the greatest difficulty in bringing themselves to confide, believe, and love at the time when they with human diligence most desire to do so, are thereby proved to be true Christians, incorporated into Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LXXVIII.

Two kinds of sorrow—one worldly, and the other godly ;
and two kinds of weakness—one carnal, and the
other spiritual.

JUST as St. Paul instances two sorrows, the one worldly, and says that it worketh death, and the other godly, and says that it worketh life (2 Cor. vii. 10), so I instance two weaknesses, the one carnal,

and understand that it worketh fear, and the other spiritual, and understand that it worketh love.

And I bring them forward because I perceive them in the sorrows which St. Paul sets forth, understanding that man experiences worldly sorrow when he is overtaken by any mishap which causes him shame or loss, or any other prejudice in the eyes of the world, or social disparagement of his fair fame and dignity.

And I understand that this sorrow works death, forasmuch as the man who grieves after this sort, unless he quickly remedy his sorrow, turns blasphemer against God; for, attributing the cause of his sorrow to Him, he complains against Him, and through blasphemy against God, eternal death becomes his portion.

Similarly I understand that a man feels godly sorrow when, overtaken by some mishap, he fears lest he should be deprived of the grace of God, and of the Holy Spirit of Christ, and of God Himself; and I understand that this sorrow works life, forasmuch as he who grieves after this sort, attains greater and better self-knowledge, and thus commends and submits himself more cordially to God, and by commending and submitting himself to God it comes to pass that resurrection and eternal life become his portion.

As to the two weaknesses instanced by me, I understand that man is then carnally weak when his weakness springs from self-love, and I call that irritation weakness which is felt at things occurring to him that are beyond his control. I understand that this weakness works fear, for where there is self-love, fear always coexists; and I understand that this weakness in Christians is free from censure, as being no mark of impiety, but of imperfection.

I understand, likewise, that a man is spiritually weak when his weakness springs from the love of God, feeling irritated when he sees himself cut off from God and some particular divine things which are calculated to promote in him the love of God and trust in God. I understand that this weakness works love because it proceeds from love, and is thus converted into love, and is for this reason praiseworthy, and a token of Christian perfection.

Carnal weakness, but not reprehensible as such, was, I understand, what St. Paul felt at the reprobation of the Jews (Rom. ix. 2); and spiritual weakness, as I understand, was manifested in what St. Paul felt through 'the thorn in the flesh' (2 Cor. xii. 7), as also in that which he felt when his friend 'was sick nigh unto death' (Phil. ii. 27, 28), and that was moreover a spiritual weakness which the Christians at Miletus felt on account of St. Paul's departure, (Acts xx. 37, 38).

Whence I gather that Christians should not grieve much over their weaknesses which are after the flesh, because in them they are tolerable, not being mortal, and that these same Christians ought to rejoice greatly in their spiritual weaknesses, since they are tokens of perfection, and means of quickening, of resurrection, and of eternal life.

The children of this world feel worldly sorrow, but they do not feel godly sorrow; whilst the children of God experience both, the one to the extent that Adam lives within them, and the other to the extent that Christ lives within them. The children of this world have indeed carnal weakness, but they do not all know it to be weakness, nor do they feel it as such; they neither have, nor do they know, nor do they feel spiritual weakness; the children of God have,

know, and feel both the weaknesses, recognising in carnal weakness the remains of the old Adam, and recognising in spiritual weakness the renovation of the new Adam, Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LXXIX.

Of the fearfully perilous nature of the errors which men
commit under professions of piety.

I HOLD it as a thing assured, that of the errors which we who are the children of God commit, and whereby we offend Him, the most aggravated are those which are committed under professions of piety. That such is the fact, I discover as well from the severity with which God has punished those errors, the record of which we read in Holy Scripture, as also from what appears in the same Scripture, that God has kept back His own people with His hand, not suffering them to fall into errors of this character, whilst He has not done so with reference to other errors in which they preferred the gratification of their affections and lusts.

Of the severity with which God has chastised those who have transgressed under professions of piety, that man may be adduced as the most striking example who, putting forth his hand to sustain the ark of the covenant which appeared to him about to fall, died instantly (2 Sam. vi. 7); whilst Saul

was deposed from the throne of Israel, and forfeited for ever the grace of God, through the sacrifice which he offered to God for victory obtained against certain nations, with reference to whom God had commanded him that he should leave no living thing to escape the edge of the sword (1 Sam. xv. 3).

Whereupon should any one ask me, saying, why then has not God exercised this severity upon others who have erred more perniciously under religious professions, as, for instance, on St. Paul, who, before he was a Christian, under the profession of religion persecuted Christians to the death? I should answer, in the first place, that up to the present time God has not explained the subject to me; and in the next place I should say, that God does not exercise this severity except upon those who are of the number of His people. And St. Paul, when he committed this error, was not one of the number of God's people, the Jews having already ceased to be the people of God; and for that reason his error was not punished as was that of Uzzah, or that of Saul.

To what extent God has kept back His elect with His own hand, not suffering them to err in their religious matters, although He has permitted them to do so in other things, it suffices that I adduce that most striking example recorded of David, who, from religious motives, desired to erect the temple at Jerusalem, and God would not consent to his doing so, for it was not His will that he should erect it to Him, and for this reason he would have sinned had he built it. Whilst the same man, in order to gratify his passion for Bathsheba, caused her husband to be slain, and succeeded in his criminal design, to which conduct God placed

no impediment. Similarly St. Peter, not under a profession of piety, denied Christ, and God permitted him to do so; while professing piety he declined to hold intercourse with Gentiles, but God overruled him; and likewise just as He would not allow St. Paul to go where he, from a motive of piety, desired to go, until that motive was no longer his own, but the suggestion of the Holy Spirit that dwelt within him.

And I feel assured that the temptation the longest sustained and the most frequent, to which pious persons are exposed, is this of pious professions, in which 'a messenger of Satan is transformed into an angel of light,' making that to appear piety which is not really so. But pious persons have two things wherewith to console themselves: the one is, that to frustrate the temptations of the messenger of Satan they have the illuminations of the Holy Spirit, which discover the deceitfulness of the malignant spirit; and the other is, that God is wont to uphold devout persons with His own hand, that they should not fall into this kind of error, which is so contrary to true piety. And besides, pious persons should ever be on the alert, so that, when the messenger of Satan shall come to them disguised as an angel of light, they may know him and be on their guard against him.

Here three things occur to me. The first, that since the error which is committed in pretending to piety is so great, every man ought to set about the performance of things with reference to which he makes professions of piety, with greater circumspection than about the performance of those which he professedly does for self-gratification.

The second is, that they who are God's elect do not err in making professions of piety, through the

illumination which they have from the Holy Spirit, and because God keeps them by His hand. It is a great mark of piety and of God's election not to err by making professions of piety.

And the third is, that a man then errs by professions of piety, when he does a thing by which of itself he thinks to give satisfaction to God, and to bring Him under obligation; as, for instance, were I to discipline my body, not with the intent with which St. Paul says that he disciplined his, that is to say, for the purpose of keeping it under and bringing it into subjection to his spirit (1 Cor. ix. 27), but with the intention of acquiring merit by the discipline which I inflict upon myself. By extending this comparison to all the outward things done by men, it may be known when they err by professions of piety.

And I conclude with saying, that he who shall feel that he is led by that way, walking in which the error of making professions of piety is avoided, may rest assured that he is a child of God, and consequently a brother of the only-begotten Son of God, Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LXXX.

What God designs in requiring of men that which they cannot of themselves render to Him, and why He does not impart to them at once all that He intends to give them.

UNDERSTANDING it to be practically true, that they who see with the eyes of human wisdom hold it to be unjust and cruel in God that He should demand of men things which, unaided, they cannot possibly give, such as loving Him with all the heart, and this even under the legal dispensation, and heartfelt faith under that of the Gospel—two things which man, unaided, may as easily yield to God as he can touch the sky with his hand ; and understanding it moreover to be practically true, that the men who see with the eyes of the Holy Spirit recognise the mercy and pity of God in the requirement itself, and in the manner in which it is put, and would recognise the entire reverse in Him, had He only demanded things which men might easily render Him ; and applying myself to consider whence these two judgments, so conflicting, should proceed, which human wisdom and the Holy Spirit form of this requirement, I am come to the conclusion that the judgment formed by human wisdom proceeds from ignorance of God's

nature and ignorance of man's nature, and that the judgment formed by the Holy Spirit proceeds from knowledge of the nature of God and of man's nature.

And it is certain that from the ignorance in human wisdom of God's nature it comes to pass, that, seeing He demands that of men which they cannot give, it judges that He does this in order to condemn them; just as it would judge of a temporal prince who should challenge of his vassals that they should not sleep for a year, imposing a punishment upon them if they slept. And from ignorance in the same human wisdom of man's nature it comes to pass, that it would hold it to be better and more profitable for man that God should ask of him what he can give than what he cannot, precisely as it judges and holds it to be better that a temporal prince ask of his vassals rather what they can easily give him, than what they could not give him even with difficulty.

And it is likewise true, that from the knowledge which the Holy Spirit has of God's nature it comes to pass, that, not judging of Him the same as of temporal princes, it knows that in asking of men what they cannot give, He does not do so to condemn but to save them; and from the knowledge which the Holy Spirit has of man's nature it comes to pass, that, knowing that he is of himself so arrogant that were God to claim of him, for his salvation, things that he might easily and unaided give, he would be so inflated with pride when he had given them, that by the very way by which he might anticipate to obtain salvation he would reap condemnation; he comes to know that the design with which God asks of men what, unaided, they cannot possibly give Him, is not, as human wisdom judges, in order to condemn them, neither is it to throw obstacles in

the way of their salvation, as the same human wisdom judges, and on account of which it holds God to be unjust and cruel, but it is to save them and to facilitate their salvation ; God acting thus to the intent that men attempting to love God with all the heart, and upon their recognition of their impotency to do either, they should have recourse to God Himself, in order that He might endow them with the graces of love and faith ; and they, in rendering both the one and the other to God, might attain the felicity they long for, not by any inherent qualification of their own, but by that with which God endowed them.

So that with great propriety, a propriety which in its nature is divine and not human, they who see with the eyes of the Holy Spirit recognise mercy and pitifulness in God, when they consider that He asks of men what they cannot, unaided, give Him ; and they would recognise cruelty in God, were He to ask what they could themselves render Him ; just as any man of sense would judge, were he to see a father commit the management of his estate to an ignorant and imprudent son, that it was not the father's intention to make his son the master of it, but to cause him to lose it.

So different is the judgment which the Holy Spirit forms of divine things, from that which human wisdom forms of the same.

And here I understand that for the same reasons that God asks of men what they, unaided, cannot render Him, it comes to pass that to those to whom He begins to give love and faith and increase in both of them, by some experiences and feelings, and by some tastes of spiritual and divine things, He withholds that amount of evidence and that amount of clearness which they would desire, and which would enable

them to apprehend Him intellectually. I mean to say, that just as He asks them that which they, unassisted, cannot render Him, in order that they may avoid the pride into which they would fall, were He to ask of them what they themselves could render Him, and thus their salvation would be obstructed, so He does not allow them fully to comprehend spiritual things, and this He makes them feel occasionally in order that they may not be puffed up with pride, and thus obstruct their own salvation.

God knows that sin pervades our whole frame, and, desiring our salvation, treats us as He sees we ought to be treated ; acting in this respect towards us as we do with a boy whom we desire should love us and depend upon us. I mean to say, that just as we do not give a boy at once all that he would desire of us, and that we mean to give him, but of some things we give him the whole, of others but a part, and others we only show him, in order to waken up a desire for them within him, and to cause him to love them, in order that he may increase in attachment to us, may follow after us and depend upon us, knowing that, were we to give him at once all that we purpose to give him, he would become inflated with pride, and would neither love us, nor depend upon us ; just so God does not give us at once all that we crave of Him, nor all that He means to give us, but of some things He gives us the whole, and of others in part, and of others He lets us see as much of them as suffices to create a desire within us for them, and to make us love them, in order that we may follow Him, may love Him, and may depend upon Him.

God does this because He knows us to be just such beings that, were He to give us at once all that

He purposes giving us, we should become proud, and thus He would not have from us what He desires, which is, that we should love Him with all the heart, and that in the exercise of unwavering faith we appropriate as our own the righteousness of His only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LXXXI.

Two weaknesses in Christ and in His members; and two powers in Him and in them.

IN Christ I consider two weaknesses: the one, that which He felt inwardly; and the other, that which He manifested outwardly. I consider that which He felt inwardly, in the tears which He shed upon Jerusalem (Luke xix. 41-45), and in those which He shed upon the death of Lazarus (John xi. 35), and in the agony with which He prayed in the garden, sweating drops of blood (Luke xxii. 44). And I consider that which He showed outwardly when regarding Him as held to be base, plebeian, vile, and even as a man, pernicious and scandalous; and when seeing Him scoffed at, outraged and persecuted to the degree of being crucified for a malefactor and as a malefactor. And I understand that the weakness which Christ exhibited outwardly, was beyond all comparison greater than that which He felt inwardly. I mean to say, that the inward

weakness which He felt was not in degree equal to that which He exhibited outwardly.

And in Christ Himself I consider two powers, two virtues and energies : the one is what He felt inwardly ; and the other is that which He manifested outwardly. The inward power which Christ exhibited I consider as exemplified in the mode in which He spoke to Peter, when He rebuked him for having cut off Malchus' ear, saying to him (Matt. xxvi. 52, 53), ' Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and He shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels ? ' &c. ; and I consider it in many passages which I read in St. John, when Christ spoke of His union with His Father (John xvii. 11, 21-23).

And the outward power which Christ had, I contemplate in the miracles which He did, and in the authority with which He performed them, and in the power and majesty with which He spoke and taught.

And I understand that the power, virtue, and energy which Christ felt inwardly was beyond all comparison greater than that which He manifested outwardly. I mean to say, that the outward power which He manifested was not equal in degree to that which He felt inwardly.

I consider almost the same in every individual of those who are members of Christ which I consider in Christ.

I will adduce an example in St. Paul, in whom likewise I consider two weaknesses, one which he felt inwardly, and the other which he showed outwardly. That which he felt inwardly is well known, by what he says of his indwelling sin (Rom. vii. 20-23) ; and I understand that he speaks under the

influence of the same when he says (2 Cor. xii. 9, 10), '*Libenter gloriabor in infirmitatibus meis,*' 'Most gladly therefore will I glory in my infirmities.' I understand him to be under the influence of the same when he says, '*Cum infirmor, fortior sum,*' 'When I am weak then am I strong' (*Ibid*). I understand it to have been with reference to the same that God said unto him, '*Sufficit tibi gratia mea, nam virtus mea in infirmitate perficitur,*' 'My grace is sufficient for thee; for my strength is made perfect in weakness' (*Ibid*). And what he showed outwardly is plainly manifested by the bad opinion which almost every one formed of him; he was persecuted by every one; every one cursed him, maltreated him, made him a martyr; as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, and as he himself writes in 1 Cor. iv. 9-13, and in 2 Cor. xi 21-29. And I understand that the weakness which St. Paul showed outwardly was much greater than that which he felt inwardly. I mean to say, that the weakness which St. Paul felt inwardly was not weakness equal in degree to that which he showed outwardly. In St. Paul I consider two powers, two virtues and energies: the one, that he felt inwardly; and the other, that he manifested outwardly. That which he felt inwardly, he disclosed, saying in Phil. iv. 13, '*Omnia possum in eo (Christo) qui me confortat,*' 'I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me;' and he showed it plainly enough in Rom. viii. 38, 39, saying that 'no creature was able to separate him from the love of God.' And that which he showed outwardly is seen by the miracles he performed, and by the many nations he converted. And I understand that the power which St. Paul felt inwardly was much greater than that which he

manifested outwardly. I mean to say, that the power which St. Paul showed outwardly was not equal in degree to that which he felt inwardly.

That very same which I consider in St. Paul, I consider in every individual member of Christ, more or less, according to the measure of faith and of the Holy Spirit possessed by each one of them; understanding that St. Paul's resemblance to Christ in all these particulars proceeded from his being a member of Christ.

Again I understand that the consideration of the two weaknesses as contemplated in Christ produces this effect upon him who meditates upon them, that it gradually diminishes the weakness that he feels within him, inasmuch as his inward affections and lusts gradually die out, whilst the weakness that he manifests outwardly progressively increases in him, in proportion as he is held to be more plebeian, more vile, and more insignificant, and he is more traduced, more outraged, more persecuted, and more maltreated.

And I understand moreover that the consideration of the two powers, virtues, and energies, as contemplated in Christ, produces this effect upon him who meditates upon them, that it progressively develops the power, virtue, and energy he feels within him, inasmuch as he acquires greater peace of conscience, becomes more spiritual, attains a higher range of knowledge and more divine conceptions of God and of divine things; whilst the power, virtue, and energy that is manifested outwardly progressively decreases in him, inasmuch as he only shows it when he is influenced and moved by God to do so. So that in proportion as any one is like Christ he is weaker in what is seen, and in proportion as he

is stronger in what is not seen, is he weaker in what is seen.

I will add, that the world's saints (that is, those whom the world deems saints) recognise power in God by the power which Christ manifested outwardly, recognising two weaknesses in God by the weakness which Christ manifested outwardly. They recognise power in God by the transfiguration of Christ, and they recognise weakness in God by the death of Christ.

And I understand that God's saints recognise, beyond all comparison, greater strength in God by the weakness which Christ manifested outwardly, than by the power which Christ manifested outwardly; and it is thus that they in fact recognise greater power in God in the cross of Christ than in His transfiguration, knowing in fact that it is so.

And thus it is felt that Christ's death resulted from His manifesting Himself as weak; and from His death on the cross has resulted the salvation of the world, all the happiness and prosperity which they who are members of Christ enjoy and shall enjoy, together with Christ Himself, that being in them which was and is in Him, to whom be glory evermore. Amen.

CONSIDERATION LXXXII.

In what properly the agony consisted which Jesus Christ our Lord felt in His passion and in His death.

HAVING frequently heard speak of the agony, of the fear, the horror, and the sorrow which Jesus Christ our Lord felt in His passion and death, by persons who pretended to show the cause why Christ felt His suffering and death so intensely; many having suffered and died, some as men and others like Christians, some of them without evincing much feeling, others not having shown any; whilst others apparently rejoiced and delighted in suffering, and even in death; and never having been satisfied in my own mind, either with what I heard them say, or with what I read in books that treated of the subject; finally, coupling what I heard a preacher say with what we read in Isaiah liii., and what is written in 1 Peter ii., I came to this conclusion, that God having laid all our sins upon Christ in order to chastise them all in Him, and He having taken them all upon Himself, and having known them all in general and in particular, felt for each one of them that confusion, that shame, and that grief which He would have felt had He Himself committed them all. Whence, seeing Himself in the presence of God, contaminated and polluted with so many and such

abominable sins, it came to pass that He felt all that agony, all that fear, all that inward sorrow, and all that shame and confusion, which would have fallen to the lot of each one of us to feel, for each one of our sins, had we been chastised for them. Hence it was that He sweated drops of blood in the garden, through the agony He felt, not at seeing Himself about to die, but at seeing Himself in the presence of God laden with so many sins, on which account He prayed with His face to the earth, as a man would do, who should be ashamed to look up to heaven, knowing that he was burdened with so many offences perpetrated against God. And this truly is the reason why Christ manifested greater feelings of sorrow in His passion and His death than did any one of the martyrs who suffered for the Gospel, or than did any one of the men of the world who died from secular motives. And the man who shall have found himself in the presence of some mighty prince, interceding for the pardon of one who had acted the traitor to him, may have felt some small spark of this shame and confusion which Christ felt seeing Himself polluted with our sins, the Intercessor feeling Himself the shame which it was the duty of others to experience. Now, that it is true that God has laid all our sins upon Christ, and that Christ has taken them all upon Himself, appears from Isaiah, where He says: 'He hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows;' and a little further, 'He was scourged for our rebellions, and beaten for our iniquities.' And further on, 'He bore the sin of many.' And besides this he says, 'With the lividness of His stripes we have been healed.' And this same appears by St. Peter, who, feeling the same that Isaiah felt, expresses himself almost in the same

terms. And woe is me! for now I clearly see the evil which I have done in offending against God, in not living according to the will of God; since with each one of my offences and of my sins I augmented the agony, the fear, and the sorrow which my Christ felt in His passion and in His death.

Here I understand two most important things. The one, that if the rigour of the justice which was executed upon Christ, as well outwardly as inwardly, had been executed upon us all, each one getting his own share for his own offences and sins, we all should have gone to perdition; there not being one of us equal to bear upon himself that part of the chastisement which he would have had to suffer as his share, had Christ not satisfied the justice of God for us. And I understand that *the going into perdition* would have consisted in this, that no one of us would have been equal to stand up firm and steadfast under the suffering without succumbing, and thus we should have failed in our obedience to God. And therefore Caiaphas rightly said, if he had but rightly felt it, '*Expediit nobis, ut unus homo moriatur pro populo, et non tota gens pereat,*' 'It is expedient for us, that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not' (John xi.). The other thing that I understand here is, that it was more than necessary that He should be more than man, nay, that He should be the Son of God, who had to reconcile men with God, for having to be chastised for the sins of all, knowing and feeling Himself charged with them all just as if He had committed them all, that He might be able to stand up against the agony, fear, and sadness, the shame and confusion, without giving way, or in any manner, or to any extent, failing in obedience to God, persevering and standing stead-

fast and constant in it, as did Jesus Christ our Lord, who is compared to a lamb that is led to the slaughter, as well on account of the innocence of His life, as of the obedience with which He was pleased to be sacrificed for us, being the Son of God, one and the same essence with God, which obedience is and will be to Him glory and honour evermore. Amen.

CONSIDERATION LXXXIII.

Five considerations upon the resurrection of Christ.

IN the glorious resurrection of Jesus Christ our Lord, I consider five things, which incite me greatly to live in this life a life resembling that which I have to live in the life eternal.

The first is, that just as the agony which Christ felt *in His passion*, was increased in the highest degree by His having taken our sins upon Himself, and by His recognising them as His own, just as if He had committed them all Himself; so the glory which Christ felt at His resurrection, was increased in the highest degree by seeing that we all were raised with Him.

The second, that just as God by slaying Christ's flesh upon the cross slew ours in such a manner that with reference to Him we are held and adjudged as if we really and effectively were dead; so God by raising Christ again, raised us in such a manner that with

reference to Him we are held and adjudged as if we were really raised again.

The third, just as the effect by which our incorporation into the death of Christ is known in this present life by our mortification—not that which we work out ourselves by our own devices, but that which we attain by incorporation into Christ, wrought by the Holy Spirit, which is communicated to us by faith, causing us to detest the world, with all that is of the world, and even ourselves, with all that is ours ; so likewise the effect by which our incorporation into the resurrection of Christ is known in this present life, is our vivification which the same incorporation into Christ, wrought by the same Holy Spirit, works in us, regenerating us, renewing us, all and all together, and causing us to love God and all that is of God, and to love Christ and all that is of Christ.

The fourth thing that I consider is, that just as I by my sins augmented Christ's agony and torment in His passion, so I by my resurrection augment Christ's joy and pleasure in His resurrection ; and just as I grieve at the former, so do I glory in the latter ; nay, the glory of the one causes me almost to forget the grief of the other.

The fifth thing that I consider is, that only they who are incorporated into Christ are certain of their resurrection, having it upon the resurrection of Christ. And on this account St. Paul, seeking to persuade the Corinthians of the resurrection of the just, founds his arguments upon the resurrection of Christ (1 Cor. xv.).

By means of these considerations we Christians shall attain a heartfelt perception of the benefit derived to us from the glorious resurrection of Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LXXXIV.

That incorporation into Christ is that which alone mortifies.

REVERTING to consider that which I frequently have considered, on various occasions (in Consideration VI.), with reference to the two kinds of depravity which are in man, of the which, one is natural and hereditary, and the other is acquired and gained, I come to understand that both these kinds of depravity exist in the mind, and exist in the body. I mean to say, that all men inherit this of our first parents; that they are born with minds impious and inimical to God, unbelieving towards God, and full of self-love, and with bodies vicious and prone to evil, from their birth. And I say, moreover, that by wicked practices, by bad company, and by false doctrines, we gradually aggravate both the depravity of soul, through which we were born children of wrath, and that of the body, through which frequently we are worse than beasts.

Human wisdom, neither knowing the natural depravity of the mind, nor that of the body, nay, knowing no depravity save that acquired by the body, has never attempted to mortify in man aught save that which it has recognised as evil; and hence it comes to pass that all the laws, doctrines, and religions which men have invented, have exclusively had for their object to mortify the depravity of the

body, and of this, solely that which has been acquired. But God, having a thorough knowledge of our natural depravity, and holding that of the mind to be the worse, it was His design in the law of Moses to mortify both kinds of depravity, and particularly that of the mind, which is the more natural, and is the more pernicious to men, being, as it is, more opposed to God; and therefore the law imposed the love of God, the worship of God, and trust in God, and prohibited every inward lust. That which the law of God should have wrought on men, it never achieved—not indeed through its own imperfection, but through the imperfection of men—but incorporation into Christ accomplishes it. For as soon as a man is, through faith, incorporated into Christ, depravity, both natural and acquired, begins to die, and continues to die as the man's progress of incorporation into Christ advances. And the man advances in his incorporation into Christ, in proportion as he is conformed to the death of Christ; and whilst he walks in this path, his errors are not imputed to him, whether they originate in natural depravity, or in that which is acquired. And natural depravity dying first within him, and of this, that of the mind more readily than that of the body, the mortification of the acquired depravity which cleaves to him is rendered easy, in order to keep him, as long as he lives, constantly engaged in mortifying it. And he mortifies it more by consideration than by external influences. And the consideration is of what Christ suffered, of man's being dead with Christ on the cross, of his being raised with Christ, of its being his aim to live with Christ in the life eternal; which considerations are of such efficacy in the individual, as cause him to lose the relish of all sublunary things, and to mortify

in him all that is of the flesh and of the world ; although I do not think it wholly dies until the man actually dies. From all which we may gather that human wisdom knows nothing of mortification, and that the law of Moses commanded it, but did not give it, and that it is alone acquired through the incorporation with which we who believe are incorporated into Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LXXXV.

Four modes by which the Christian knows God through
the medium of Christ.

HAVING frequently spoken of the knowledge of God as of a thing most important, and so much so, that it involves in itself felicity and eternal life, and having stated that there are three ways of knowing God—the one, by the contemplation of the creature, which is peculiar to the heathen ; the second, by the perusal of the Holy Scriptures, which was peculiar to the Jews ; and the third, through Christ, which is peculiar to Christians—and never having remained satisfied with this third one—I mean to say, as to the mode of intelligence by which we Christians know God through Christ—after having very maturely considered it, I find four modes by which we Christians know God through Christ.

The first, by the revelation of Christ.

The second, by the communication of the Holy Spirit.

The third, by regeneration and Christian renovation.

The fourth, by a certain inward vision.

I understand that the Christian knows God by revelation of Christ, when Christ permits Himself to be known by him ; because then in Him we know God, He being the express image of God according to that passage in John xiv. 9, '*Philippe, qui videt Me, videt Patrem meum,*' 'Philip, he who seeth Me, seeth my Father also,' and according to what St. Paul says, speaking of Christ (Col. i. 15), 'Who is the image of the invisible God.' And that it is certain that the Christian knows God by revelation of Christ, appears from the passage (Matt. xi. 27), '*Neque Patrem quis novit, nisi Filius, et cui voluerit Filius revelare,*' 'Neither knoweth anyman the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him.' I understand that this revelation is inward, there being nothing in it that is palpable to sight, and thus it pertains to the inward vision, and not to the outward eye, and it presupposes the knowledge of Christ. I mean to say, that the knowledge of Christ, which consists in the knowledge of His Godhead, His humanity, His divine and human existence, His glory and His ignominy, His dignity and His lowliness, as also His omnipotence and His humility, all this precedes the knowledge of God by revelation of Christ. And it is certain that since I know Christ to be the image of God, and see omnipotence, justice, truth, and faithfulness in Him, I come to know, not indeed by reference to the Holy Scriptures, but by revelation of Christ Himself, that in God is omnipotence, justice, truth, and faithfulness, seeing that these things are in Christ, and that

Christ is the image of God ; so that he that knows Christ after this manner, not by relation of man, but by the inward revelation of Christ Himself, may say with certainty that he knows God in Christ ; just as a man to whom St. Paul, who possessed in himself to a great extent the image of Christ, should have discovered all his mind and all his inward thoughts, would have been able to say with certainty that he knew Christ in St. Paul. Not that this comparison serves to demonstrate, but only to illustrate my meaning.

I understand that the Christian knows God by the communication of the Holy Spirit, because I understand that the Holy Spirit is given to them who believe in Christ ; and I understand by St. Paul (1 Cor. ii. 10), ' that the Spirit searcheth all the deep things of God.' I understand likewise that we know God Himself, and through Christ, inasmuch as through Christ, the Holy Spirit is given to us, it being Christ Himself who gives us Him by the will and command of God ; just as, by the same will and ordinance, light is given unto us through the sun. And certain it is that the Holy Spirit is efficacious in me, who am a Christian, to make me know omnipotence in God, by the mighty power which He manifests in me, in mortifying me, and in quickening me ; to make me know the wisdom in God, by the wisdom which I acquire by the Holy Spirit ; to make me know the justice in God, for that He justifies me in Christ ; to make me know the truth in God, inasmuch as He fulfils to me what He has promised ; and to make me know the goodness and mercy in God, forasmuch as He bears with my infirmities and sins ; and thus I am brought to recognise all these things in God, not indeed by relation of Scripture, but by that which the Holy Spirit

works within me, who communicates Himself unto me through Christ.

I understand that a Christian knows God by regeneration and Christian renovation, because I understand that he who has been regenerated and renewed by the Holy Spirit, who is communicated to him by Christ, gradually rids himself of and renounces the image of Adam, which is peculiar to us by human generation, through which we are by nature children of wrath, enemies of God, wicked, rebellious, and infidel; and gradually assumes and recovers the image of God, which is peculiar to us, by Christian regeneration, through which we, as it were, naturally become children of grace, the adopted sons of God; we become friends of God, pious, obedient, and faithful, and thus, by degrees, come to recognise God within us, recognising those divine perfections in ourselves which Holy Scripture attributes to God; and acquiring regeneration and renewal by the Holy Spirit, and the Holy Spirit through Christ, it becomes a thing assured that through Christ we recognise God in ourselves; and it is clear that we never should have recognised truth, faithfulness, justice, goodness, in God, unless that we had previously been true, faithful, just, good, etc., ourselves; it being natural to man to judge of another according to what he knows of himself.

I understand that the Christian knows God by a certain inward vision, after that he has known Him by the revelation of Christ, by the communication of the Holy Spirit, and by Christian regeneration. And respecting this knowledge, I refer to what I have said in another Consideration, in which I introduced certain comparisons by which the man that shall not have attained this knowledge of God will

be enabled in some measure to understand in what it consists ; and if he attain to it, I am sure that he will be seized with such a desire for this knowledge, that he will be continually following after God, addressing Him in these loving words, '*Ostende mihi faciem tuam,*' 'Show me thy face' (Exod. xxxiii.) ; and I am moreover sure that God will show Himself to him, when He shall please, and in the manner which it shall please His divine Majesty, accommodating Himself to human incapacity, which is most incapable of this inward vision. And because Christians incorporated into Christ, who know God through the revelation of Christ, through the communication of the Holy Spirit, through regeneration and Christian renovation, are themselves gradually rendered capable of this inward vision, progressively approximating to impassibility and immortality, it is said with truth that we Christians come to know God through Christ by a certain inward vision, but only in part, as far as may be in this present life, our perfect and entire vision being reserved for us in the life eternal, where, seeing God perpetually, face to face, we shall experience the highest bliss with Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LXXXVI.

To distinguish the inward movements of the soul, when they proceed from the Holy Spirit, when from the Evil Spirit, and when from a man's own spirit.

I RECOLLECT having written in a letter as to the way in which men are moved, in this present life, in everything, by one of these three spirits: by the Holy and Divine Spirit, by a man's own and evil spirit, or by the evil and diabolical Spirit.

And because I understand how important it is for those who aim at Christian perfection to know how to recognise by what spirit they are moved to act or not to act, I am again brought to consider that we know, those of us who aim at Christian perfection, that in order to attain what we seek—that is, immortality and eternal life—we must needs follow the movements of the Holy Spirit and flee those of the Evil Spirit, and resist those of our own spirit.

Again I consider that it occurs to many, that not knowing how to distinguish between these impulses, thinking to follow the Holy Spirit, they follow the Evil Spirit, or they go after their own spirit. Their error proceeds, not indeed from their not know-

ing whither they have to go, for they well know that they must walk in the path of life eternal, neither does it proceed from their not knowing the way, for they well know that the way is that of piety, righteousness, and holiness, but from their not knowing in what piety, righteousness, and holiness properly consist. For were that known, they would easily distinguish when they are moved by the Holy Spirit, when by the Evil Spirit, and when by their own spirit. It being assumed that in proportion as a man is better able to distinguish in what piety, righteousness, and holiness properly consist, just so his eyes are progressively opened to distinguish when he is moved by one spirit, and when by another; without which knowledge, the man who aims at Christian perfection is very like the pilot of a ship, without compass, in mid ocean, not knowing what course to steer.

Having considered, then, how true all this is, since there is not an individual amongst those who aim at Christian perfection who cannot bear some testimony to it, I am brought likewise to consider that, since the man who aims at Christian perfection knows that he is walking to life eternal, and knows that the path is that of piety, righteousness, and holiness, it is necessary he should know that holiness consists in the election of God, that is, that they only are holy whom God elects and accepts for Himself; that righteousness consists in believing in CHRIST, that is, that only they are righteous who, by believing, make the righteousness of CHRIST their own; and that piety consists in approving as good, all that God does, and in being personally satisfied with it, that is, that only they are pious who inwardly approve whatever God does, and are so

satisfied with it, that they would not change or alter it were they able to do so.

For I understand, that this being known, man begins to advance towards distinguishing the movements of the spirit, when they are of the Good Spirit, and when they are of the Evil Spirit, and when they are of his own spirit. Since he holds all those things for movements of the Good Spirit which have a tendency to lead him to respond to the call of God and to say with St. Paul, 'Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?' '*Domine, quid me vis facere?*' (Acts ix.), and with Ananias, 'Behold, Lord, here am I,' '*Ecce ego, Domine*' (*Ibid*); and all those who are led to believe in Christ, say continually, 'Lord, help mine unbelief,' '*Domine, adjuva incredulitatem meam*' (Mark ix.), and, 'Lord, increase my faith,' '*Domine, auge mihi fidem*' (Luke xvii.); and all they who are led to commit themselves in everything and altogether to God, to suffer themselves to be ruled and governed by God, approving and holding everything to be good that God does; this same man holds all impulses that are opposed to these to be those of the Evil Spirit, and he holds those impulses which neither oppose these nor thwart self to be the movements of his own spirit.

In addition to this, I think that every person who shall keep a strict account with himself will so nearly approach to a true distinctive knowledge of the spirits, as to understand with which of them he has to walk; and I think that he will approach still nearer and better by personal assurance that those are the movements of the Holy Spirit which draw him to the imitation of Christ, especially in so far as He was most obedient to His Eternal Father, in so far as He manifested the most perfect charity,

and in so far as He possessed the profoundest humility and the greatest patience, because it is certain that the Holy Spirit in those who are the members of Christ, being the same that was in Christ, inspires and moves them to that to which He inspired and moved Christ—Him as head, and legitimate Son, and them as members and adopted sons; and by personal assurance, too, that those are movements of the Evil Spirit which are opposed to these, and that those are movements of the man's own spirit which draw him to his personal interests, to his own honour and glory, and to his own recreation and satisfaction.

And even with this I do not say that he may be perfectly certain, when endeavouring to distinguish the spirits by the knowledge of their movements; but I do say that a man may thus be nearly enabled to do so, reserving the perfect and definite distinction to those to whom this particular gift is vouchsafed of God, who know Satan, even when he is transfigured into an angel of light, when he offers and propounds to them things which are apparently pious, religious, and holy, whenever they specially need these intimations, it being prejudicial in the highest degree that men should fall into error in matters affecting piety.

Finally I come to this conclusion: that the man who desires to make a prosperous journey heavenward, strives to recover the image of Christ in this present life, putting Christ before his eyes, and by compelling himself to follow those impulses which Christ would have followed, and to oppose those impulses which Christ would not have followed; and this is the perfection which is propounded to all of us who are members of Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION LXXXVII.

That all creatures were ruined in the corruption of man,
 and that they will be restored in the restoration
 of man.

READING St. Paul, I have found that he touches upon many mysteries deserving of profound consideration; and amongst others I have deemed that most deserving which in Rom viii. treats of the restoration of the creatures at the glorious resurrection of the sons of God. In the consideration of this mystery I have frequently occupied myself, and I have found that the more I desired to understand it, the less have I understood it. My mind indeed got far enough to understand that just as man by his corruption ruined all creatures, so by man's restoration all the creatures will be restored; that the first Adam, by subjugating all men to misery and death, ruined all the creatures; and that the second Adam, our Lord Jesus Christ, by bringing men to felicity and life eternal, will restore all creatures. But as I have not understood the mode in which creatures have been ruined by man's corruption, so neither have I understood in what mode they will be restored in man's restoration, and in this consists the mystery to which St. Paul adverts. It appears that Isaiah first understood this mystery in chapter lxxv., where God promises to 'create new heavens and a new earth;' and

it appears that the same mystery was understood by St. Peter in the third verse of the last chapter of his second epistle ; and the same appears to have been understood in Rev. xxi.

Then I understand that God, having created man in a state of immortality and of consummate felicity, created all things with such order and with such dispositions that they all harmonised in making man immortal and perfectly happy.

Again, I understand that man in subjecting himself to misery by eating the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and in his self-committal to death, by disobedience to God in eating the fruit of the tree against the commandment of God, it was necessary that all creatures should lay aside their mode of existence and the disposition with which they had been created, to make man immortal and perfectly happy, and that they should assume another mode of existence and another disposition, with which they should all concur in rendering man miserable and mortal. And I understand that owing to this, evil influences proceed from the heavens, and that the earth produces noisome and unwholesome things, all which augment the misery of man. And it is because all creatures have been concerned in making man miserable and mortal, that I understand St. Paul to say that they all anxiously desire to be set free. Understanding this, I come to apprehend that man having to be immortal and perfectly happy at the resurrection of the just, all creatures shall be brought back to recover that mode of existence, that disposition, and that order with which they were created, to render man immortal and perfectly happy at his restoration, just as they perverted their mode of existence, their disposition, and their order, at his fall, in order to render him miserable and mortal.

I do not understand that good angels are comprehended in this category of creatures, because, not having been ruined, they have no need of being restored ; nor are wicked angels, because, not having been ruined with man in order to render man miserable and mortal, they will not be restored with man to render him immortal and perfectly happy.

And in this Consideration, more than in any other which I have hitherto treated, do I see the exceedingly great obligations which not only man specially, but all the creatures generally, are under to Christ, since by Christ's obedience man will be brought back to that state of immortality and felicity which he lost through Adam's transgression, and by the same the creatures will be brought back to recover the mode of existence and the most perfect disposition which they lost by Adam's transgression. And thus this remains impressed upon my mind, that Adam, by disobedience to God, corrupted all mankind and condemned them to death, and ruined all creatures, and subjected them, as St. Paul says, to vanity ; and that Christ, by obedience to God, restored all mankind and gave them immortality, and restored all creatures and established them firmly in their mode of being. I speak of what shall be at the resurrection of the just, as if it had already taken place ; because, as far as God is concerned, it already exists, since Christ is already raised. And the more I recall this, the more do I abhor every kind of disobedience to God, and the more do I embrace every kind of obedience to God ; and I feel that in proportion as I progressively apply myself to this, so does the image of Adam gradually fade in me, and there gradually is remodelled in me the image of Christ, and similarly that of God, to whom be glory everlastingly. Amen.

CONSIDERATION LXXXVIII.

The reason why God commanded man that he should
 not eat of the tree of knowledge of good
 and evil.

I HAVE on various occasions endeavoured to understand why God, at the time that He placed man in the garden of Eden, commanded him not to eat of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil—not being personally satisfied with the generally received opinion that God gave this command to man in order that he should recognise God as his superior, which reason is to me inadequate, although I do not absolutely reject it; and as often as this desire occurred to me, so often did I drive it from me, holding it to be pruriently curious, as I indeed hold all those desires to be curious which busy themselves in prying into the works of God in order to discover the motive. But it has occurred to me, being now freed from this curiosity, when reading the first chapters of Genesis for another purpose, to have understood, as I think, that which I desired.

In the first place, I understand that God created man in a condition entire and perfect, in which he had spiritual light, that answered the same purpose as natural light now does, and was identical with the knowledge of good and evil.

Again, I understand that there were, in the midst of that terrestrial paradise, two trees, of which, in

Scripture, the one is called the tree of life, and the other the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. In these I understand that God had placed this natural virtue : that the one rendered those who ate of it immortal, and that the other gave to those who ate of it the knowledge of good and evil.

And I understand that just as immortality was consummate felicity, so the knowledge of good and evil was consummate misery.

I understand, by what I affirm of the tree of life, that God having cursed man for sin, Holy Scripture reports that He said that He expelled him from terrestrial paradise in order that he should not eat of the tree of life and thus live for ever. Nor did God rest satisfied with the expulsion of man from paradise, but placed cherubim as a guard ; whence it appears that that tree had this natural virtue, to confer immortality.

As to what I affirm of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, I understand from what I read, that in that same instant in which our first parents, deceived by the serpent, ate of the fruit of the tree, they had the knowledge of good and evil, so that their eyes were immediately opened to discover defects in the works of God, for they knew that they were naked.

Whence I come to understand that God treated the first man as a mother treats her little boy. I mean to say, that just as a mother who sees her son, a child, with a knife near him, and fearing lest, should he handle it, he might cut himself with it, desires him not to go near it, telling him that if he go near it she will punish him ; just so God, placing the first man in the terrestrial paradise, and seeing the trouble into which he would fall if he ate of the fruit of the tree

of the knowledge of good and evil, commanded him not to eat of it, telling him that if he ate of it he should die. Moreover, I understand that just as the child, going near the knife and cutting himself, falls into the trouble against which his mother cautioned him, and his mother punishes him for his disobedience, as she had threatened, so that the boy falls into two troubles—the one, that of cutting himself from the property of the knife; the other, that of stripes for disobedience to his mother; just so the first man, eating of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, fell into the trouble against which God had cautioned him, and God punished him with death, as he had threatened him; so that the man fell into two troubles—the one, that of having his eyes opened to know good and evil, whereby he lost spiritual light and acquired natural light, he lost divine knowledge and acquired human knowledge and discourse, and that from the peculiar nature of the tree which would have had the same effect without the commandment; and the other calamity is that of death; and that was through disobedience, by which, disobeying God, he ate the fruit of the tree.

Whence I am led to infer that God showed exceedingly great love to man, in commanding him not to eat of the fruit of that tree. I understand that He gave him that command not that he might fall into the calamity into which he fell in the knowledge of good and evil; which calamity I understand to be much greater than any that we can possibly imagine. This is according to what St. Paul says (Rom. v.), that sin entered through disobedience, and death entered through sin, which has been visited upon all the descendants of the first Adam, because in his disobedience they all disobeyed, and thus they

all sinned, and therefore they all died ; so, on the other hand, righteousness or justification entered by obedience, and life entered by justification, to which all the members of the second Adam, Jesus Christ our Lord, will rise glorious, because by His obedience all these have obeyed, and thus they are all justified, and therefore they shall all rise to glory and immortality. This explanation which I have given of the virtue of these two trees satisfies me, for by it the benefit of Christ is illustrated ; and as to the rest I wait till I am better informed.

Some things present themselves to me in this Consideration which I might desire to know, but which, holding them to be merely curious, I leave until it shall please God to make me understand them. And this, I feel assured, will be when the desire to know shall have been wholly mortified and deadened within me ; for God wills it, that just as the first man lost himself by craving to know, so we regain our position by mortifying and slaying every desire to know, being content only to know Christ crucified, who is to us the tree of life, and to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

CONSIDERATION LXXXIX.

Six reasons why it appears to have been necessary that the Son of God should have lived in the mode and form of life in which He did live.

I FIND, at the present time, six reasons, the consideration of which appear to me to disclose the marvellous counsel with which the only-begotten Son of God, made man, lived amongst men, in the form of life in which we read that He did live.

The first reason is this, that God having determined to mock human wisdom by saving, not those who are wise, but those who believe, as St. Paul understands it in 1 Cor i. 19-21, it was necessary that Christ should assume when on earth a mode of living which could not possibly be recognised by human wisdom. Had Christ adopted John the Baptist's mode of living, human wisdom might have found in that external austerity a reason for receiving Him as the Son of God; and if He had adopted the mode of living of Moses, human wisdom might similarly have found in that external grandeur a reason for receiving Him as the Son of God; and it was on this account necessary that He should assume the mode of living that He actually took, in which there was no demonstration either of austerity or of grandeur; and thus it comes to pass that the more human wisdom considers it, the less does it find

wherein to warrant its being brought to accept Christ for the Son of God. And this harmonises well with a Letter which I remember having written, intended to show the reason why Christ occasionally discovered His divinity and at other times veiled it.

The second reason is this, that Christ's life having to serve as a model-life for those whom He came to make sons of God, it was necessary that He should take that form of life which should be of all others the easiest of imitation. Had Christ taken the form of life of John the Baptist, He would have deterred many by its asceticism and austerity; and had He taken that of Moses, few would have been able to imitate it; and hence it was necessary that He should take that which He did take, so easy of imitation by all classes of persons, that no man can excuse himself by saying, 'I am unable to imitate Christ; I cannot live as Christ lived.' I do not understand that Christ, in assuming the form of life which He did assume, meant that every one who should become a child of God, had to imitate Him in that outward life, but that it should be of all others the easiest to imitate by those who should wish to imitate Him both in His outward life and in His inward life; as to the inward, in obedience to God, in charity, in patience, and in humility of mind; and as to the outward, in living without austerity and without grandeur, but in poverty, lowliness, and ignominy.

The third reason is this, that Christ coming to save people of all ranks, it was necessary that He should take a form of life in which He might hold relations and converse with men of all stations. Had Christ taken the style of life of John the Baptist, publicans, sinners, and harlots would have been ashamed to speak with Him, nay, He would not, with a due re-

gard to propriety, have been able to speak and converse with them ; and had He taken the style of life of Moses, the lower classes and the masses would not have been able to hold relations and converse with Him on account of His grandeur ; and hence it was necessary for Him to take the form of life that He did take, in which He could hold intercourse and converse, as He did hold intercourse and converse, with individuals of all classes ; so much so, that He was on this account calumniated by those who made a profession of sanctity.

The fourth reason is, that Christ coming to proclaim the kingdom of God and to put Himself in possession of it, and the kingdom of God consisting, as St. Paul says in Rom. xiv., in righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost, it was necessary that He should exemplify in Himself a style of life best suited to keep us in the righteousness and peace and joy of the kingdom of God. Had Christ taken the form of life of John the Baptist, which was approved of as holy by the world (for the world is discreet enough to esteem those who do not esteem it), He would have placed His imitators in competition with the world's saints ; and if Christ had taken the style of life of Moses, which is emulated by men of the world, He would have placed His imitators in competition with men of the world ; and hence it was necessary to take the style of life which He did take, which is of such a quality that they who imitate it keep themselves in their righteousness and peace and joy, because, not coming into competition either with the world's saints or with men of the world, they are not stripped of the possession which they have in the kingdom of God.

The fifth reason is, that Christ having to suffer for our sins a death, cruel, ignominious and notorious, unjust and involuntary, it was necessary that He should assume a mode of living most likely to have such an issue. Had Christ taken John the Baptist's form of life, although the reputation of sanctity would not have liberated Him from a cruel death, since it did not save John the Baptist, it might have freed Him from an ignominious public death, as it saved John the Baptist; and if Christ had taken the form of life of Moses, although lofty station might not have saved Him from a violent death, as it has failed to save many of this world's great men, it might have saved Him from an ignominious public death; and hence it was necessary that he should take that form of life in which, dying ignominiously, He ennobled ignominy and a public death; and he assures to us all, who know it and believe it, our justification, of which we need to be most assured.

The sixth is this, that Christ coming to proclaim and to give regeneration and inward renovation, which things presuppose mortification, it was necessary that He should adopt a mode of life best suited to mortification, to show in it and by it the proper way of mortification. Had Christ taken John the Baptist's mode of life, it might well have shown the way of bodily mortification in asceticism of life, but not of mental mortification, on account of the reputation that this style of life enjoys with the world; and had Christ taken the mode of life of Moses, He would not have exemplified either the one kind of mortification or the other; and hence it was necessary that He should have taken the mode of living which He did take, in which man acquires mortification of mind much better than by any other, and through that of the

mind that of the body, inasmuch as the world holds those to be vile who live holily, without making profession of outward sanctity, and these it despises as the vilest of things, inasmuch as mortification of body follows upon this scorn ; and thus mortification is both certain and perfect to those who imitate Christ's form of life.

From these six reasons I learn six things :—

I. That he who will, by consideration of the life of Christ, know Him for the Son of God, must needs mortify the judgment of his human wisdom.

II. That no man can excuse himself by saying that he cannot imitate Christ's form of life.

III. That the Christian has then a style of life most like that of Christ, when it admits of his holding relations and converse with every class of persons.

IV. That that form of living is best calculated to cause a man to preserve for himself the possession of the kingdom of God, which does not come into rivalry with any class of men, either of this world's saints or of men of the world.

V. That that form of life is the most like to that of the Son of God which is most exposed to martyrdom.

VI. That that mode of life is the most proper and able to attain Christian mortification, which is the most despised in the eyes of the world, in which, without making profession of outward holiness, the man lives holily.

From all that has been said, I deduce this conclusion : that they who live holily without making profession of outward sanctity are both very capable of, and exposed to, martyrdom, that they keep themselves rightly in the kingdom of God, are easy of intercourse

with all sorts of men, imitating the form of life that Christ held, and they mock human wisdom. And hence that to what St. Paul alludes in Col. iii. is peculiarly applicable to them—*‘Mortui enim estis, et vita vestra abscondita est cum Christo in Deo,’* ‘For you are dead, and your life is hidden with Christ in God.’ To whom be glory for ever. Amen.

I will add that Christ’s maintaining that form of life in which he was born, being at birth the Son of God, up to the time that He died by the will of God, teaches us that we shall do well to maintain that form of life in which we find ourselves when called to be sons of God ; provided that, when in it, we aim to make it conform as much as possible to the mode of life which Christ held upon earth, that so in us may perfectly shine forth the image and likeness of Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XC.

Of Christian perfection, consisting (as it does) of Christian duty and Christian propriety.

I HAVE often said that Christian perfection consists in this, that man incorporated into Christ, into His death, and into His resurrection, should live as prescribed by Christian duty, observing Christian decorum ; understanding that a man will acquire Christian perfection in proportion as he shall live in the

observance of Christian duty, maintaining Christian propriety.

I now say that man then lives in the observance of Christian duty, and in the maintenance of Christian propriety, when He occupies himself in those things with which Christ would have occupied Himself; and consequently, I say that man then quits the line of Christian duty, and ceases to maintain Christian decorum, when he occupies himself in things with which Christ would not have occupied Himself. So that to him who would fain acquire Christian perfection, from a desire to comprehend dignity which appertains to him, it behoves such a one to be intent on living in all things and under all circumstances in the observance of Christian duty, and in the maintenance of Christian propriety, keeping the whole life of Christ before his eyes, making it the point of duty and of propriety to be like to Christ in all things and under all circumstances, doing only that which Christ would do, and not doing in any way that which Christ would not do.

Proceeding still further, I affirm that just as I understand that men, whilst flesh and blood, cannot, as Holy Scripture says (1 Cor. xv. 50), possibly attain such perfection as we recognise in Christ, so likewise do I understand that all who know and feel themselves to be incorporated into the death of Christ, and into the resurrection of Christ, ought to fix their aim on this lofty perfection, and strive to attain it, and actually obtain it, for I understand that the Holy Spirit qualifies and moves those to this end to whom Christ is communicated.

Here I gather two things: the one, that from this day forth I shall attribute to the weakness of my

flesh all I do that Christ would not have done, and all I fail to do that Christ would not have failed to do, and I shall attribute to the force and efficacy of the Christian Spirit all I do that Christ would have done, and all I refrain from doing that Christ would have refrained from doing; not excusing myself in what proceeds from my infirmity and weakness, nor priding myself upon what proceeds from the power and efficacy of the Christian Spirit.

The other thing that I gather is that from this day forth I shall not go about examining, so to speak, '*Quid liceat?*' 'What is lawful?' holding that to be acting like a servant and a slave; but I shall go about looking again and again, so to express myself, '*Quid expediat?*' 'What is expedient?' (1 Cor. vi. 12), holding that to be acting like a son; and I shall hold it to be a thing expedient and agreeable to me, to live as prescribed by Christian duty, and in the maintenance of Christian propriety, contemplating this duty and this propriety, as one might say, '*in facie Christi,*' in the face of Jesus Christ (2 Cor. iv. 6), in all that is written concerning Him, and in all that I shall be able to glean of His divine perfections, both from records and from my own personal experience.

And in these two things I understand two others to be comprised: the one, that they know nothing of Christian dignity who attempt to veil, under the pretext of Christian piety, those things which they do from weakness and infirmity of the flesh; and the other, that they do not know themselves to be children of God who occupy themselves in enquiring, '*Quid liceat?*' 'What is lawful?' for this is certain, that they who comprehend Christian dignity, willingly manifest and confess what is owing to weakness and infirmity

of their flesh ; and that they who know themselves to be children of God, are ashamed of enquiring, '*Quid liceat?*' 'What is lawful?' and occupy themselves in seeking out the '*Quid expediat?*' 'What is expedient?' attributing all they do, as well as all that which they omit to do, to their own infirmity and weakness, when attending to the '*Quid licet,*' and leaving the '*Quid expedit,*' which those persons would fain never leave who understand Christian dignity and know themselves to be the children of God.

I understand that we all have weakness and infirmity, both of body and mind. I understand that all those things wherein we minister to our bodily necessities luxuriously and with delight to the body pertain to weakness and infirmity of the body; and I understand that all those things in which we purpose to gratify the eyes of the world pertain to the weaknesses and infirmities of the mind. So that, in riding on horseback, I provide tenderly for my bodily necessity, a thing which Christ ordinarily did not do, and this is a weakness and infirmity of my body; and doing my best that the appointments of the equipage be elegant and well turned out, I purpose gratifying the eyes of the world, and this is weakness and infirmity of my mind. This example admits of being applied to everything else that we have to do with in this present life.

Hence it would be well to suggest, that they who begin to make their life conform with that of Christ in outward and bodily things, incur the risk of never attaining inward conformity, which is the essential, and of falling into vainglory and presumption. And hence it is necessary that every one called of God to the grace of the Gospel, begin to conform himself

inwardly to the life of Christ, or as might be said, in obedience to God, in patience, in humility of mind, and in charity; and afterwards, let him aim to conform himself likewise outwardly to the life of Christ, but only so much as may help and assist him to increase inwardly, because this is that which best pleases God and our Lord Jesus Christ.

CONSIDERATION XCI.

That only the children of God have assured satisfaction
in everything.

No man arrives at anything save by one of three ways, and this holds true in matters connected with piety as well as in everything else: voluntarily, involuntarily, and by the grace of God. In those to which we come voluntarily, there is design; in those to which we come involuntarily, there is suffering; in those to which we come by the grace of God, there is admiration.

The children of Adam never find any certain and solid satisfaction in the things to which, aiming at piety, they arrive by design, because their designs are based on self-interest and self-love; and having this basis, when their designs fail them, they cannot experience satisfaction, however much they may persuade themselves to be satisfied and would wish to appear so to others. That such is the fact, those persons know by personal experience who voluntarily

aim at piety, changing their mode of living, of estate and of condition, or who occupy or exert themselves more in one thing than in another.

The children of God find then satisfaction, both certain and solid, in the things at which they arrive voluntarily and designedly, when their design is to promote the cause of mortification and vivification upon which, by the grace of God, they have entered, or whether it be to serve Christ in His members. That this is true, those persons know by personal experience who, esteeming themselves dead by the cross of Christ, are intent upon mortification, with the desire of mortifying themselves so as only to live as being dead, since they are dead and their life is hid with Christ in God (Col. iii. 3).

The children of Adam are but seldom free from suffering and grief in the things which occur to them involuntarily, such as troubles, sicknesses, death, and dishonour, because they ignore the will of God in such things, or, if they recognise it, they hold it to be rigorous, and thereby adjudge themselves the enemies of God. That such is the fact, we almost all know more or less by experience.

The children of God are then free from suffering and grief, in things which occur to them involuntarily, when, recognising the will of God in them, they bring themselves to conform to it, in which conformity they find content and satisfaction in their minds, although the flesh feel pain and suffering, when finding itself in a predicament that it would not have desired. And there is no marvel that under such circumstances the flesh in these individuals should revolt and suffer, for it revolted and suffered in the person of the only-begotten Son of God, Jesus Christ our Lord.

The children of Adam are seldom brought by God's grace under the influence of divine things, and when they are so, they neither feel it, nor recognise it, and hence they do not relish these things, and not relishing them, they cannot find any inward satisfaction in them. That this is true, those persons know experimentally who, having been children of Adam, are now children of God; who can recall some things to which they were brought by God's grace, but as they did not recognise God's grace in them, they felt no relish nor satisfaction in them.

The children of God are frequently brought, by God's grace, under the influence of divine things, and when they feel and recognise it, then they relish them, and relishing them, find satisfaction therein, and are lost in admiration. That this is true, the children of God themselves know experimentally, being frequently brought to many things without personal desire and without design, without contradiction and without suffering, but specially by the marvellous grace of God, so that they find themselves abhorring those things which they previously loved, and loving those things which they previously hated, without being aware themselves by what way or by what mode they were led to do so.

This marvellous and gracious work, as I understand, God brings about in His children in the following manner.

By opening their eyes to recognise Christ's righteousness, which, because He shows them that it belongs to them, causes them to abhor their own self-righteousness, by which I mean all that men do, striving to justify themselves in the sight of God, from which they wholly cease, and which they despise and condemn.

By opening their eyes to the recognition of His divinity, He draws them to the knowledge of themselves and of men of the world, and thus He disenamours them of themselves and of the world, and enamours them of Himself and of Christ.

By opening their eyes to the knowledge that God, by slaying Christ's flesh upon the cross, slew at the same time theirs, He leads them to hate their own flesh, and brings it to pass that, with inward resolution, they love mortification and strive to attain it.

By opening their eyes to the blissful state of eternal life, through the consideration of Christ risen, He leads them to hate this present life and all that is in it and belongs to it, and thus they love the life eternal, and despise this present life, and rejoice in parting with it.

Finally, God, when He wills to bring His children to hate an evil thing, ever gives them, as I understand, the knowledge of a good thing, because He knows that, being affectionately attached to a good one, they will hate the evil one much more quickly than if He had but given them to see its badness, just as I should bring myself, much more quickly and with much greater ease, to hate a worldly life by considering the happiness of a Christian life, than I should do by considering the evil of a worldly life; which proceeds, as I understand, from the natural constitution of the human heart, that cannot cease to love something, so that to bring it to hate a thing that it loves, it is necessary that some other thing be proposed to it that it may love.

In this discourse there are, as I understand, ten principal things.

The first is, that the children of Adam find no certain or solid satisfaction in anything; whilst the

children of God find it in everything they do, as the children of God.

The second is, that my purpose will then be a Christian one, when that which I do voluntarily, shall be to aim at increase in that on which I began to enter through God's grace.

The third is, that my mind will have cause for contentment and satisfaction, in what is brought upon me involuntarily, although the flesh may revolt and suffer.

The fourth is, that in those things into which I find myself transported without consciousness of purpose on my part, or of violence on that of others, I am to recognise the gracious hand of God.

The fifth is, that God by giving me the knowledge of spiritual things, in their nature eternal and true, leads me to hate things which are in their nature material, temporal, and false.

The sixth is, that by knowledge of the life eternal, I come to hate this present life.

The seventh is, that by recognising myself as dead on the cross of Christ, I render mortification easy.

The eighth is, that by aiming at the attainment of the knowledge of God, I am brought to the knowledge of myself and of the world, and to the abhorrence of myself and of the world.

The ninth is, that in attaining the knowledge of Christ's righteousness, I renounce and reject every sort of self-justification.

The tenth is, that they who do not begin to hate every kind of self-justification, and themselves, and the world, and the present life, and things temporal and false, have not yet begun to become children of God, but are still the children of Adam; although in them who are only beginning to be children of God, they

begin to feel the germs of all these enmities to which they are incited by just as many attachments. And the children of God are they who, by believing in the Gospel, are incorporated into the only-begotten Son of God, Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XCII.

Of the manner in which mortification is the token by which we know ourselves to be children of God.

HAVING frequently stated that the peculiar token by which a man may know that he is a child of God, being dead on the cross with Christ, and being risen with Christ, is mortification, by means of which he hates the world and himself; and understanding that Satan, alike crafty and sagacious, might hence take occasion to disquiet the children of God, by giving them to understand that they are not so, since they do not recognise in themselves such detestation of the world and of themselves, but that they frequently feel pleasure in gratifying the world and in self-indulgence, I will now clear up the subject.

Understanding it experimentally, I say, that immediately upon a man's being called of God to the grace of the Gospel, and upon his initiation into it, he is incorporated into Christ, and is thereby dead with Christ, and raised with Christ—feels himself, and inwardly finds himself, to be wholly changed in his

designs, resolutions, and desires, so that he hates that which he previously loved, and loves that which he previously hated. I am of this opinion, that mortification and hatred of the world and of self is the peculiar token by which the Christian knows himself to be a child of God, and thereby heir to life eternal ; but I do not understand that this mortification, or this hatred, is all at once perfect and entire, both in the body and mind of the man who becomes a child of God by the acceptance of the Gospel, and by incorporation into Christ ; neither do I understand that they are perfect and entire even in the mind only. But I do understand that incorporation into Christ produces this effect upon the man who accepts the grace of the Gospel : that just as he, prior to the time at which he accepted it, took pleasure in and enjoyed, both mentally and bodily, the honours and dignities of the world, seeking and courting them, and keeping his aim mainly fixed on them, neither relishing nor enjoying those which are chief amongst divine things, nor at all aiming at them, and hence, neither seeking nor attaining them ; so, after he has accepted the grace of the Gospel, he hates in his mind what he previously sought and courted, and loves what he previously contemned and avoided, altogether changing his purpose ; and even when the body resists and withstands, not being thoroughly mortified, it suffices that the mind be changed in its purpose, being made conformable to his knowledge.

What I say of worldly honours and dignities, I affirm likewise of worldly pleasures and delights ; understanding that as the man who accepts the grace of the Gospel is, before he accepts it, fully bent on seeking and procuring the pleasures and gratifications of the world delighting his sensuality, and would,

were it possible, have as many more bodily senses in order to gratify and sensuously indulge himself in creature uses, and laments and complains when any one of these bodily senses fail him, or are in any way impaired ; so, when he has accepted this grace, he not only ceases to strive after that for which he previously strove, but, on the contrary, he is wholly intent upon renouncing all that can give satisfaction and contentment to his sensuality, and it pains him to be obliged to gratify it in anything in order to sustain life, and would therefore fain be bereft of the five senses, and joys when he finds himself deprived of any one of them, or if he find any defect in himself with reference to them.

I say, that a man begins to feel all this in himself as soon as he accepts the grace of the Gospel and becomes a child of God.

Furthermore I say, that as a man advances in incorporation into Christ, so he advances in his mortification, in his enmities both in character and number ; in character, hating that which he has begun to hate with a daily increasing hatred, for that he recognised it as alien to Christ, and unworthy of a Christian person incorporated into Christ ; hating it equally both in body and in mind, outwardly and inwardly, as things which are in themselves filthy and deformed, which even those men will hate, who, with but the light of nature, pretend to be just and holy ; and in number, hating many more things than those which he began to hate. Because the spiritual light in him begins to shine more resplendently, he continuing to advance in distinctness of knowledge as to the things which belong to the Christian and those which do not, he goes on to hate more things, hating them at first but with the mind, and bringing himself, by

degrees, to hate them likewise with the body, and labouring to develop his hatred of them, both that of the mind and that of the body ; and this exercise is peculiarly that of a Christian, lasting as long as he lives.

From the whole of this discourse this may well be gleaned : that the token by which I know myself to be a child of God, and that I am dead on the cross with Christ, is not perfect mortification, nor perfect hatred of the world and of myself with the mind and with the body in everything ; but in this incipient mortification and in these enmities, and in some main objects, when it has come without having been striven after, nor sought with human diligence, and when it is seated in the mind, although flesh and sensuality would fain seek and strive after the contrary, and although it enjoys and delights itself in what is presented to it, the mind remaining unaffected by that enjoyment and delight, feeling disgust and annoyance in those things to which it is constrained by the weakness of its flesh to take more than suffices to supply its bodily necessities, so that the body may receive those things, and not the mind, the man feeling both satisfaction of the body and distress of mind.

And I understand the hatred which Christ wills that those who shall desire to be His members bear to their own life, consists in this : that a man takes not more from the creatures than what suffices to supply his bodily needs. And I understand that St. Paul, experiencing this mental struggle, would not allow his body to take more of created things than sufficed to sustain life, whilst his body wished to take more to satisfy and delight its own sensuality, and thus felt what he writes to the Romans in the seventh chapter of his epistle.

And since St. Paul went through what he tells and

confesses in that place, no Christian need look upon himself as alienated from Christ, or from Christian adoption, because he feels the liveliness of his flesh, and for that he does not feel in all and everything that hatred of the world and of himself which he must needs have to be perfect. For if he but partially feel this mortification and these hatreds, he has, as has been said, good cause to hold himself a child of God, as incorporated into Christ and as dead on the cross with Christ, and to be so intent upon mortification, that it may increase, until it is like that of Jesus Christ our Lord, who, as St. Paul says (Rom. xv.), '*non sibi placuit*,' 'pleased not Himself,' to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

CONSIDERATION XCIII.

That that suffering is more Christian and more grateful to God, in which the sufferer finds the less consent of his will.

ALL that we who studiously aim at Christian perfection suffer in this present life, is either in body or in mind, and is either by our own will or by the will of another. We suffer by our own will when we deprive ourselves of our comforts and of our gratifications; and we suffer by the will of another when we are deprived of our comforts and of our gratifications without the consent of our will.

The human mind is, as I have often declared, most arrogant, and being such, it seeks its own glory and its own honour in everything belonging to it; and for this reason we feel more or less satisfaction in what we suffer, in proportion as the human mind is more or less lively within us. If the mind be very lively, we find great satisfaction in what we suffer by our own will, and little in what we suffer by the will of another; and if the mind be to a great extent dead, we find little satisfaction in what we suffer by our own will, and much in what we suffer by the will of another; and this greater or less satisfaction will serve as evidence to us of our mortification.

The man who has his mind very lively, is ever quick in feeling, and resents sufferings imposed on him by the will of another, both because he does not think that it is pleasing to God that he suffer them patiently, it appearing to him that it is from inability to do otherwise, and because the human mind, being most arrogant, cannot tolerate that violence should be done to it. This same man, who has a very lively mind, is ever well pleased and contented with sufferings imposed by his own will, both because he thinks that by suffering he may please God, and because, where he recognises his own will, he always experiences satisfaction.

On the other hand, the man who has his mind much mortified, ever esteems but little, and regards with distrust, what he suffers by his own will, both because the principal thing which he aims at is to mortify his own will, ever distrusting it, and because, being in the midst of his own glory, it is not easy for him to be satisfied with voluntary suffering, knowing that it always issues in the glory and honour of him that suffers. And the same man, who has greatly morti-

fied his mind, ever thinks highly of and is contented with that which he suffers by the will of God, because he knows that which he suffers redounds to the honour and glory of God, which is his highest aim.

Amongst the things which a man suffers by his own will, being able, were he desirous of doing so, to escape the suffering, I place fasting, the various modes of discipline, vigils, hair-shirts, with all their accompaniments; and amongst the things which a man suffers by the will of another, I place acts of violence and of dishonour, persecutions, martyrdom, sickness, death, with all their accompaniments.

Those persons who have experimentally known what a lively mind is, and what a mortified one is, or who have at least begun to mortify themselves, by examining themselves in that which they have suffered, and will suffer, in both these ways, by their own will and by the will of others, they know how true all that is which is here written, the knowledge corresponding with their experience, and knowing it, they will be more intent than ever to promote the still further mortification of their minds, until they bring them to such a state, that in what they suffer by their own will, they may aim at helping and assisting those who are members of Christ, and at the mortification which faith and the Holy Spirit work in them, in the manner I have elsewhere frequently described; and in what they shall suffer by the will of another, recognising the will of God, and not that of men and of other creatures, so that in everything which causes them to suffer, they may rejoice and be contented, aiming to discharge religious duty and to maintain Christian propriety.

And I understand that the man who suffers by

the will of another, then aims at Christian duty, when, being brought, by whatever circumstances, into poverty, he acquiesces contentedly in it. I say the same of dishonour, of bodily infirmity, and of death, with every other similar incident. And I understand the same man, who suffers by the will of another, then maintains Christian propriety, when, suffering for Christ, he is content to suffer, 'glorying,' as St. Paul says in Rom. v. 3, 'in tribulations.'

And I understand that those persons suffer for Christ, who, whether in preaching the Gospel or in teaching the Christian life, having the gift of an apostle or of a teacher, are persecuted, maltreated, dishonoured, and made martyrs; and those who by a Christian life aim at attaining the image and likeness of God, are on account of their imitation of Christ despised, slandered, and rebuked; and those who, to relieve and satisfy others who are members of Christ and are incorporated into Christ, deprive themselves of their own comforts and gratifications; and this voluntary suffering I hold to be that most becoming a Christian.

They who, in suffering by the will of another, imitate Job, discharge religious duty by conforming to the will of God; and they who, in suffering by the will of another and by their own will also, shall imitate St. Paul, shall maintain Christian propriety; God having exhibited in Job a most striking example of patience in suffering by the will of another in natural things; and in St. Paul a most divine example of hardihood in suffering by the will of another in Christian things.

And in this discourse I understand eight things. The first is, that accordingly as my mind contents itself, more or less, with that which it suffers by its

own will or by the will of another, do I know its mortification to be greater or less.

The second is, that in what I suffer by my own will, if I do not suffer for Christ, I seek my own honour and my own glory, my own interest and my own profit.

The third is, that by acquiescing in what I suffer by the will of another, I discharge religious duty and maintain religious propriety, and by this I seek the honour and glory of God.

The fourth is, that I ought to be assured that all suffering, of whatever character it may be, which presents itself to me without my will in this present life, is by the will of God.

The fifth is, that I shall then satisfy Christian piety, when in suffering I imitate Job.

The sixth is, that I shall then maintain Christian propriety, when in suffering I imitate St. Paul, so far as he imitated Christ.

The seventh is, that they suffer for Christ who preach Him and who imitate Him, as do also they who serve Him in His members.

The eighth is, that that voluntary suffering is most peculiarly Christian, which results in benefiting those who are incorporated into Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XCIV.

Conscience has three bases ; the first resting upon natural law, the second upon written law, and the third upon the Gospel.

I UNDERSTAND that every man upon earth moulds his conscience upon one of these three bases.

There are some who, by attending to natural religion, which consists in a man's wholly devoting himself and every member of his body to those things (ends) for which he knows that God created him and them, and that he avail himself of all created things peculiarly for the purposes God had in creating them ; and they mould their consciences upon the law of nature, forming a good or bad opinion of themselves, according as they know their life to harmonise with, or to vary from, the dictates of natural religion. I understand that the more these persons have their minds illumined to know the extent to which they are brought under obligation by natural religion, and the more they endeavour to discharge that obligation, so much the worse opinion have they of themselves, knowing that they fail much and in many things belonging to the duties of natural religion, of which, owing to the depravity of original sin, man can by no means discharge himself.

There are some who, by attending to the Jewish religion, which consists in this, that a man live in all and everything conformably with those laws by which he is obliged, or persuades himself that he is obliged, observing them according to the intention of their Maker ; and these mould their consciences upon what they know of those laws, and entertain a good or bad opinion of themselves, according as they know that their life concurs with, or varies from, that which those laws exact of them. I understand that the more these persons know the extent to which they are bound by those laws, and the more they study to fulfil that obligation, so much the worse opinion have they of themselves, knowing that they fail much and in many things belonging to the duties of the Jewish religion which they would fain discharge, it being impossible for them to do so, both on account of the blindness of their intellects, with which they cannot fathom the peculiar design of Him who made the laws, and not knowing it, they can never be assured that they have satisfied them, and from the rebellion of the flesh, which, as St. Paul says in Rom. viii., 'is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be.'

There are others who, hearing the voice of the Gospel, which promises remission of sins and reconciliation with God to those who believe in Christ, ceasing to profess natural religion and repudiating the claims of the Jewish religion, embrace the Christian religion, which consists in this, that man incorporated by faith into Christ, regards himself as pious, just, and holy, notwithstanding that he does not wholly satisfy either natural religion or the Jewish religion, and, moreover, even notwithstanding he should not wholly satisfy the duties and decorum of

the Christian religion. I understand that the more these persons have their minds illumined by the knowledge of the Gospel and of Christ, and the more they study to credit the Gospel, so much the better opinion do they have of themselves, forming their opinion, not upon what they know of themselves, but by that which they believe of the Gospel that God knows, who does not contemplate them in the aspect of what they are in themselves, but what they are in Christ. He does not hold them to be good or bad by the degree in which they approach to, or diverge from, the duties of natural religion or of the Jewish religion, nor by the degree in which they maintain Christian propriety, or by that wherein they fail to do so, but by the faithfulness or the unfaithfulness with which they persevere in, or sever themselves from, the Gospel and Christ.

Men who observe natural religion, being destitute of the Christian religion, are wont to be vicious, because the flesh works licentiousness in them.

Men who observe the Jewish religion, being destitute of the Christian religion, are wont to be superstitious, and are over-scrupulous; nay, all the scruples and all the doubts in what they call cases of conscience originate in this. For men being unable wholly to understand the purpose of the lawgiver, it comes to pass, that man, not being able to be assured that he has satisfied the law, persists in striving to satisfy it by superstitious observances; and after all, is beset with the gravest scruples, which are greater in those who apply themselves to comply with the requisitions of the Jewish religion; whilst moreover there are, with reference to the apprehension of the law's design, as many opinions as there are persons who strive to understand it. In conclu-

sion, so long as a man remains subject to the law, having to mould his conscience upon the opinion which he has of himself, he never comes to experience peace of conscience.

The men who attend to the Christian religion, mould their consciences, as I have said, upon the opinion God has of them, who considers them as incorporated into Christ, and not according to what they know of themselves. In proportion as the Christian religion assumes its sway in them, they daily advance in the better observance of natural religion and of the Jewish religion, not moulding their consciences to their own satisfaction, but in maintenance of the duties of the Christian religion and of the propriety of the Gospel. These persons alone are not vicious, because the flesh does not work licentiousness in them, nay, being dead on the cross with Christ, it is gradually mortified; and these alone are free from superstitions and over-scrupulosity, because they know that Christ has released them wholly from the law, having satisfied it for them; and, being free, they no longer have anything to accuse them; and because they likewise know that God does not impute to them their failings in duty to the Christian religion and to the propriety of the Gospel, this affectionately obliges them to be like God and like the Son of God Himself, Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XCV.

That men are incapable of comprehending the divine generation of the Son of God, and the spiritual regeneration of the children of God.

AMONGST the instances in which human curiosity manifests its audacity, I hold to stand forth, pre-eminently, as the most glaring, the desire to know and understand the divine generation of the Son of God, the mode in which the Son is begotten of the Father, the reason why the Word* of God is called the Son, or the Son of God is called the Word. I say, that amongst the other instances I hold this audacity to be by far the greatest, because I understand that the mind of man is as incapable of comprehending the divine generation of the Son of God, from its being, as it is, a subject most alien from anything that he knows, understands, and experiences of his own generation, as is the intelligence of a worm, which is generated by the corruption of the earth, incapable of comprehending human generation, that is, how one man is the son of another man, or one of the other animals is the young of its parent animal, from its being, as it is, a thing most alien from its own generation. And more than this, I understand that were a worm to come to understand in what mode a man is generated by another man,

* Verbum, or Logos.

and were it to wish to make it intelligible to its fellow-worms, they would never be capable of comprehending it, it being a thing wholly alien from their own generation; thus, it being granted that a man should come to understand the divine generation of the Son of God, and that he should wish to make it intelligible to his fellow-men, they would never understand it, from its being, as it is, something utterly different from their own generation.

And for this reason the presumption of the men who seek to understand this most divine mystery by their natural light only, is boundless, whilst that of those who seek to understand it, aided by the text of the Holy Scriptures, is likewise great. And it flows from this, that although St. John understood the divine generation of the Son of God, and wished to render it intelligible to men, they are incapable of it, not understanding the meaning of the words employed by St. John, by which he wished to explain it, that is to say, what St. John meant by saying '*Logos*,' or '*Verbum*' (the Word).

Wishing to set forth still better the incapacity of human intelligence to comprehend the divine generation of the Son of God, I think after this fashion: that if it be incapable of comprehending the spiritual regeneration of those who, incorporated by faith into the Son of God, become by adoption children of God, how much more incapable will it be of comprehending the divine generation of the Son of God? Now, that human intelligence is incapable of comprehending this spiritual regeneration, all they who are regenerate know by experience, inwardly knowing that they could never have understood this divine mystery if they had not experienced it, and knowing, moreover, that how much soever they might

labour to render it intelligible to those who are without its pale they could achieve nothing, just as the worm could do nothing, which, having acquired the knowledge of the process of human generation, should wish to make its fellow-worms cognizant of it. I understand the same from that argument which St. John reports as having been carried on between our Lord Jesus Christ and that great master in Israel named Nicodemus, who came by night to converse with Him (John iii.). And thus it is that CHRIST, speaking to him of spiritual regeneration, by which man ceases to be a child of wrath and is converted into a child of grace, ceases to be a child of Adam and is converted into a child of God, Nicodemus, with all his natural light, with all his human learning, and with all his knowledge of Sacred Scripture, was so incapable of comprehending this spiritual regeneration, that Christ, as it were, astonished, said to him, '*Tu es magister in Israel, et hæc ignoras?*' 'Art thou a master in Israel, and knowest not these things?' and added, '*Si terrena dixi vobis, et non creditis: quomodo, si dixero vobis caelestia, creditis?*' 'If I have told you earthly things, and ye believe not, how shall ye believe if I tell you of heavenly things?' meaning to say, If thou art incapable of comprehending this spiritual regeneration, which, though it indeed is spiritual, is nevertheless such, that it is wrought here upon earth, and upon men made of earth, how much more incapable wilt thou be of comprehending the divine generation, in order to believe in it, and of which I could speak to thee, since it is that which is not wrought upon earth, but in heaven, and is not wrought upon an earthly object, but upon a heavenly one?

Wherefore, let this be the conclusion; that it

being true that man, whilst he is man, destitute of the Holy Spirit, with all his natural light, with all his learning and doctrines human and written, is not only incapable of understanding the divine generation of the Son of God, but is likewise incapable of understanding the spiritual regeneration of the adopted children of God; let no one be so daring as to presume that he understands it, or to speak of it, without having attained spiritual regeneration. Nor let any one be so rash, without having attained spiritual regeneration, and having been admitted to those divine mysteries to which St. John was admitted, when he said '*In principio erat verbum,*' 'In the beginning was the word,' as to dare to desire to understand, penetrate, and attain it by human ability and discourse:—holding it to be a thing certain that they only are capable of comprehending this divine mystery to whom, by God's will, it shall be revealed by the Son of God Himself, Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XCVI.

That a man then knows himself to be a stranger in the world, when, because God loves him, the world persecutes him. *

MAN is wont to esteem himself a citizen of the country in which he was born, deeming himself a stranger and foreigner in every other; the man who professes

to find his fatherland in every country, deems himself nowhere a foreigner; the man regenerated and renewed by the Holy Spirit is more than man, deeming himself a citizen of the kingdom of God and of the life eternal, and holds himself to be a stranger in every country upon earth.

The first, led by sense, obeys the dictates of the senses; the second, led by the light of nature, obeys the dictates of prudence and human reason; the third, led by the light of the Spirit, follows after faith, hope, and charity. The first delights himself in what gratifies the senses; the second, despising what gratifies the senses, seeks his own glory and his own mental satisfaction; the third, contemning both these, tenderly loves the honour of God and the glory of Christ. The world loves the first; the world despises the second, although, on the other hand, it values and esteems him; whilst the world scorns, hates, and persecutes the third. God disowns the first; God holds the second in abhorrence; whilst God makes much account of, loves, and favours the third. And here I do not understand that God highly values, loves, and favours this third because the world scorns, abominates, and persecutes him; but that the world scorns, abominates, and persecutes him, because God highly values, loves, and favours him.

Again I understand, that from such an one's feeling himself on the one hand to be highly valued, beloved, and favoured of God, and on the other hand scorned, persecuted, and hated by the world, it results that, following the guidance of the Holy Spirit in pursuit of faith, hope, and charity, he esteems himself a stranger in this present life, and a citizen of the life eternal.

Deeming himself a stranger in this present life, he lives like a stranger, contemplating no inheritance to be derived from this present life, nor the enjoyment of that which they enjoy who are its natives; and thus he holds all these things lightly, not fixing his affections on any one of them; and holding himself to be a denizen of the life eternal, he begins to live as do they who are there, and contemplates an inheritance in it, and to enjoy that which they enjoy who are its denizens, and upon this he concentrates his affections.

I understand that although the thought of death may alarm this man's sense, and such of his affections and appetites as are still quick within him,—yet so far as he regards himself as a pilgrim in the present life, and a denizen of the life eternal, it is to him a subject of rejoicing and of satisfaction to consider death as the end of his pilgrimage.

He that, though honoured, beloved, and favoured of God, is not likewise dishonoured, hated, and persecuted by the world, does not yet hold himself to be a stranger in this present life, not being treated as a stranger, although he esteem himself a citizen of the life eternal, forasmuch as he knows that he is honoured, beloved, and favoured of God. It is indeed true that this self-estimate is not complete and perfect in him, until the world, knowing him to be honoured, beloved, and favoured of God, begins to treat him as a stranger, scorning, hating, and persecuting him; for then he, feeling himself to be treated by the world as a stranger, flies for succour to Christ and to God; and being, as he is, more honoured, more beloved, and more favoured by God, and more enlightened in his perceptions of the life eternal, he esteems himself a stranger and foreigner in the

present life,—so that, though the world should afterwards turn to honour, love, and treat him well, he does not cease to esteem himself a stranger, and to regard the termination of his pilgrimage as desirable.

Here I understand two things :

The first is, that God wills that those whom He loves should live as strangers. And the second is, that between those who hate the world, because they have been persecuted by it for their personal godliness, and those who hate the world from other motives, there is this difference—that these latter, although they hate the world, whilst they are despised by it, and would be happy to leave it ;—when the world resorts to honour them, they, loving the world, would by no means wish to leave it ; whilst the former, since they once hated the world, upon seeing themselves scorned, hated, and persecuted by it, never return to love the world again, however much it may love and esteem them. This difference proceeds hence, that following the light of the Holy Spirit, and being illumined in their apprehensions of the life eternal, they ever regard themselves as strangers in the present life, and as citizens of the kingdom of God and of the life eternal, and on this account they hate this life, and rejoice to quit it. Whilst the others, on the other hand, following the light of nature, have no definite assurance of the life eternal ; and if they had it, are without warrant of their future welfare in it, and on this account they entertain no hatred of this life, neither do they rejoice in leaving it.

Christians will understand from this discourse that they are to esteem themselves strangers and foreigners in the world in this present life ; and that they are to esteem themselves citizens of the

kingdom of God and of the life eternal: and should the sense of extreme dread of death make them know that they have not even arrived at this point, of esteeming themselves strangers, they ought to strive to attain it by continual prayer, being assured that the more perfect they become on this point, the more like Christ will they then be, and more like God, who have been, and are in this present life, foreigners and strangers, and have been treated as such; and it behoves every Christian to be like God, and like the Son of God, Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XCVII.

Whether justification be the fruit of piety, or whether piety be the fruit of justification.

WISHING to examine which of these two gifts of God—piety and justification—may be said to be the fruit of the other; that is, whether piety be the fruit of justification, man being just before he is pious, or whether justification be the fruit of piety, man being pious before he is just,—and wishing to proceed orderly in the enquiry, I say, in the first place, that by piety I understand true divine worship, which consists in worshipping God ‘in spirit and in truth’ (John iv. 24), mentally approving all that God does, holding it to be just, holy, and good. And it is in this sense that I understand St. Paul uses the word.

'piety' (godliness), 1 Tim. iii. 16. And I say, that by justification I understand the purity of conscience which dares to appear before the Judge, such as was that of St. Paul when he said, '*Reposita est mihi corona justitiæ*,' &c., 'There is laid up for me a crown of righteousness,' &c. (2 Tim. iv. 8).

Proceeding still further, I understand that in summoning to this council the light of nature, prudence, and human reason, in order to make this enquiry, it will ever say and affirm that justification is the fruit of piety, understanding that a man cannot be justified and be pure in his conscience unless he first worship God '*in spiritu et veritate*,' 'in spirit and in truth,' rendering Him that which as His creature he owes Him: and that as soon as he renders God what he owes Him, he is just, and has his conscience cleansed. And thus it concludes that justification is the fruit of piety, since it results from a man's being pious that he is just.

Again I understand that, summoning to council the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Christ, in order to make this enquiry, He will say and affirm that piety is the fruit of justification, understanding that a man cannot have piety, worship God '*in spiritu et veritate*,' 'in spirit and in truth,' unless he previously be just, accepting the Gospel of Christ, appropriating the righteousness of Christ, and understanding that as soon as he becomes just by believing, he begins to be pious, worshipping God in spirit and in truth. And thus He concludes that piety is the fruit of justification, because a man is just prior to his being pious.

Were that true which the light of nature, prudence, and human reason say, it would follow from the same reason that there never has been, is not, nor ever

will be, a pious man—I mean to say, one who perfectly and fully renders to God what he owes Him.

And that being certain which the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Christ, says, it rightly follows that there have been, are, and will be, a great number of just men ; for there have been, are, and will be, many men who have been, are, and will be justified by Christ, accepting and appropriating the righteousness of Christ.

The men who adjudge justification to be the fruit of piety, witness by so doing concerning themselves that they judge by the light of nature, by prudence, and by human reason, as Plato and Aristotle would have judged, who never heard of Christ ; and in truth I know not what they feel respecting Christ, Christian affairs, and the Gospel.

The men who adjudge piety to be the fruit of justification, witness by so doing concerning themselves that they judge by the Holy Spirit, by the Spirit of Christ, as did St. Peter and St. Paul, who knew Christ profoundly, and who possessed the Spirit of Christ.

Such men form this opinion of Christ, that God punished all our sins in Him—that is to say, all that wherein we failed, and which, as God's creatures, we were under obligation to render to God : they feel with reference to Christian practice, that it is to live under the government of the Holy Spirit, '*in sanctitate et justitiâ*,' 'in holiness and righteousness' (Luke i.) ; and they feel with reference to the Gospel, that it is a bond that comprehends these two things, remission of sins and justification by Christ, and the rule and government of the Holy Spirit ; which two things they enjoy who, by believing in Christ, accept the Gospel.

From all this discourse it is to be gathered, that they who understand justification to be the fruit of piety, follow Plato and Aristotle : whilst they who understand piety to be a fruit of justification, justification being a fruit of faith, follow St. Paul and St. Peter. It is to be gathered likewise that this word ' piety,' employed in the sense in which it is here understood, is not applicable to God, for He owes nothing to any one ; on the contrary, all are indebted to Him ; and that which He does with us is not out of piety, nor is it of debt, nor of obligation, but out of compassion, mercy, and generosity, He being compassionate, merciful, and generous to us in everything. Which we ought chiefly to recognise in this, that He laid all our sins upon His most precious Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, in order to invest us with the righteousness of the same Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION XCVIII.

In what way that is to be understood which Holy Scripture declares, attributing condemnation at one time to unbelief, and at another to wicked works ; attributing salvation at one time to faith, and at another to good works.

THOUGH Christians who have faith, and feel its fruit within them, which is justification, and the fruit of justification, which is peace of conscience, still they are subject to uneasiness from statements in Holy Scripture, which lead them to desire to review their own opinions and their own spiritual experience ; and I hold this to be foremost amongst those which are most calculated to cause uneasiness—for feeling themselves justified by faith, and consequently possessing peace of conscience, they cannot understand for what reason Christ, speaking of the day of judgment, says in Matt. xxv. 21-46, that He shall condemn some, because they will have done evil, and that He will save others, because they will have done good. Nor for what reason St. Paul says in Rom. ii. 6, that ‘ God will render to every man according to his deeds ;’ and St. Peter, in 1 Pet. i. 17, that ‘ God will judge every man according to his

works ;' at which they marvel so much the more, forasmuch as Christ Himself says (Mark xvi. 16), ' He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be condemned ;' and St. Paul himself says in Rom. x. 10, ' For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation ;' and St. Peter himself (1 Pet. i. 9) attributes the salvation of the soul to faith.

And from their inability to understand this, it comes to pass that every one of them thinks in this manner : ' If God be about to judge me according to my works, there is not the least doubt but that He will condemn me, for in them there is no goodness whatever ; nay, wherein they appear best, there is the greatest contamination of self-love, of interest, and of self-glory—so that if I am to be judged by my works, it will go ill with me.' Whence, desirous of removing this uneasiness and this scruple from Christians and spiritual persons, and of maintaining the meaning of the Holy Scriptures, so that there be no contradiction in them, I think thus : that with relation to good or evil works, God does not consider quantity but quality, which is determined by the disposition of the man who does the works, as exhibited in the objects upon which he exerts it. There is scarcely any necessity to prove this to be true in connexion with evil deeds. And that it is true in connexion with good deeds, appears from what Christ says of those who cast their money into the treasury of the Temple, praising the disposition of the individual who did the works (Mark xii. 41-44). And this likewise appears by what Christ Himself says, speaking of the day of judgment, where, in Matt. xxv. 21-46, He does not say that He will save those

who shall have simply been charitable, but those who shall have been charitable to Him—that is to say, those who by believing shall have been incorporated into Him. Whence it appears that Christ would say that He will save those who shall have practised charity towards Him, and that He will condemn those who shall not have practised it. Now, it being clear that they only can act with a pious disposition who are themselves pious and holy, and that none can recognise Christ in His members, to exercise charity towards Him, save those who belong to the body of Christ Himself,—it follows clearly, that only they can perform good works, working in a Christianlike manner, who are members of Christ, who have the Spirit of Christ, who are pious, holy, and just, and who believe in Christ.

And this being established, it is also proved that the scriptural declaration that men shall be saved by their good works, and shall be condemned by their evil works, is equivalent to the declaration that they shall be saved by their faith, and shall be condemned for their unbelief. Whence Christians have two things to learn.

The one, that they alone are capable of performing good works, because, holding themselves to be justified by Christ, they do not pretend to justify themselves by their good works; and thus, in working, they work purely from love to God, and not from self-love, as do they who, not holding themselves to be justified by Christ, pretend to justify themselves by their good works; and, working thus from self-love, from self-interest, and not from love to God, they do not perform good works, inasmuch as their works do not please God, and cannot therefore be called good works.

The other, that God judging them according to their works, He will not bring the contamination which He will recognise in them into their reckoning, having pardoned original sin in them, with all that is derived to them from that evil root; and because He will bring into their reckoning the faith which He will have given them, and the purity which shall be in their works, few or many, forasmuch as they will be the fruit of that faith.

And thus God will save them, showing by His judgment, publicly notified, that He saves them on account of their good works; but saving them in very deed by the faith which He will have given them, God will justify the sentence with which He will condemn the impious and superstitious, and will save the pious and holy, alleging the outward works of both parties; the life of holiness and righteousness of the one, and the life of injustice and impiety of the other. But this will be for them who only know and see the outside; and in the same sentence they who know and see the inside, the root, whence springs the life and works of the one part, and the life and works of the other,—being more than man by Christian regeneration, they will know that faith has saved those who shall be saved, and that unbelief has condemned those who shall be condemned.

Here an impious man, wishing to traduce Holy Scripture, and a superstitious one, wishing to canonise his superstitious works, might say to me: 'If this which thou sayest be true, what occasion could there be to make mention of works? Would it not be better that Scripture had stood firm in declaring that whosoever shall believe, shall be saved; and that whosoever shall not believe, shall be condemned?' And to them I will give these three replies:—

The first, their charge of inconsistency in the Holy Scriptures is owing to their misapprehension of them; and they would find none, were they to understand them; and they would understand them did they not seek to understand them by prudence and human reason, which is incapable of understanding the things of the Spirit of God, such as are the Holy Scriptures.

The second, that God having, as has been declared, to justify His sentence before men, who see nothing beyond the outside, it is necessary that He allege the outward works, those which testify to the faith of the believer, and of the unbelief of the unbeliever. And

The third, that all men being most prompt to do evil and most backward to do good, it appears to be necessary that Holy Scripture should employ this mode of expression, to bridle the promptness to evil and to stimulate the backwardness to good, in order that, just as they who now feel regeneration and Christian renewal depart from evil, and devote themselves to good, solely from duty incident to this same regeneration and renewal, to maintain Christian propriety, not to grieve, nay, but to please the Holy Spirit;—so likewise they who begin to experience regeneration and renewal do the same, in order to confirm their calling and to work out their salvation; and let them likewise do the same who know nothing of regeneration or of renewal, from fear of being condemned; and thus these may be less wicked, and those, being less wicked, may be better from self-interest, until having begun to feel the effects of Christian regeneration and renewal, they likewise may be good, not doing evil, but doing well—not indeed from fear and from interest, but only as the

duty of Christians, incorporated into the Son of God, Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory evermore. Amen.

CONSIDERATION XCIX.

Whence it proceeds that men disbelieve that all our sins were chastised in the person of Christ, or, that they believe it with difficulty.

CONSIDERING the very great difficulty with which men are brought to believe the Gospel, the good news of the remission of sins, justification and reconciliation with God, through the execution of God's justice upon Christ—since even they who believe by revelation and divine inspiration find more difficulty in believing this remission of sins, justification, and reconciliation, than in all the other doctrines, taken together, which the Christian church believes,—I have frequently occupied myself with thinking whence this difficulty can proceed. And at last I am brought to this conclusion, that a man finds the inward opposition of his wicked conscience to belief in this remission of sins, justification, and reconciliation; and hence it comes to pass, that it is with the greatest difficulty that they who believe by divine revelation and divine inspiration are brought to hold themselves to be just; whilst they who believe as a matter of opinion and by report never are able to

bring themselves to do so. They who do believe through inspiration, do not give full credit to the Gospel until they find peace of conscience, and finding peace of conscience, their inward opposition ceases, and the difficulty of believing in the Gospel is removed.

They who believe through teaching, as they never find peace of conscience, they never believe the Gospel, because the inward opposition never ceases; and it never ceasing, so neither does the difficulty of believing ever cease: nay, whilst the opposition lasts, the difficulty may be called an impossibility.

Men easily believe, from the declaration of the Holy Scriptures, that God is supremely omnipotent and just: they believe that Christ is perfectly innocent and free from every sin; they believe that Christ suffered by the will of God; because in none of those things do they find inward opposition adequate to induce them to disbelieve what the Holy Scriptures affirm; and, not to exclude the benefit of Christ, they moreover believe that Christ rendered satisfaction for original sin, for they do not find opposition even in this, inasmuch as their consciences do not accuse them on the score of original sin; and as they do not recognise any personal blame attached to it, they readily bring themselves to believe, that without personal merit *that* is pardoned to them which they do not recognise as a personal failing.

But when it is propounded to them, as an article of faith, that Christ rendered satisfaction to God for the sins which they severally committed,—although they possess the Holy Scriptures, which testify this to them in the most ample manner, nay, they all proclaim this harmoniously,—they suddenly draw back, because they find inward opposition in their own con-

sciences, and thus they resolve to restrict the benefit of Christ solely to original sin, understanding it in their own fashion, or even extending it to their own sins, but with the addition of their own satisfaction, as though Christ had declared : ' I have rendered satisfaction for the sins of you all, but with the covenant that each individual render satisfaction for his own,'—and they do not consider the insult which they thus put upon Christ : and they do not consider it because they do not feel it, and they do not feel it because they do not know Christ.

They who, by the gift of God, believe God to be supremely just, that Christ is perfectly innocent, that Christ's sufferings were the work of God, and that He suffered for original sin, are brought at length to believe that they, through Christ's sufferings, attain remission of sins, and are just, and stand in grace with God, having been already reconciled to Him ; considering in this manner : ' If God be supremely just, if Christ be perfectly innocent, if that which Christ suffered He bore by the will of God, and if it were the will of God that He should render satisfaction for original sin, it is also true that the men who have obtained the pardon of all their sins are just and are reconciled with God, since we are all brought by original sin to be sinners, unjust, and enemies to God, and we are all brought to perpetrate that whereby we aggravate our unrighteousness and enmity. With this consideration they pacify their consciences and facilitate belief, and rest assured that they who do not believe this, either do not believe that God is supremely just, or do not hold that Christ is perfectly innocent, or they do not believe that it was the will of God that Christ should suffer ; because if they did believe it, they would believe what is de-

duced from it, that is to say, that He did not suffer on His own account, but on theirs, and to the end that they might hold themselves to be just. Here I understand the following things :

First, the blindness of human wisdom, that is incapable of understanding the truth which the Gospel proclaims.

Secondly, the ignorance of men, who, not understanding whence incapacity originates, do not attempt to remedy it, but to conceal it.

Thirdly, that Christ, rendering satisfaction for original sin, rendered satisfaction for all the sin we commit, through the wicked perverseness which is natural to us and derived from original sin.

Fourthly, that the faith of those who believe, only being taught to do so, neither soothing nor pacifying their consciences, does not facilitate in them the belief that all our sins were punished in the person of Christ.

Fifthly, that the faith of those who believe, having been inspired, by soothing and pacifying their consciences, facilitates in them the belief, that all our sins were punished in the person of Christ.

And it is thus that they who have this inspired faith proving and experiencing in themselves the truth that the Gospel proclaims, are brought to understand experimentally what they first believed by inspiration. They first believed that Christ was punished on their account, because the Gospel thus proclaims it to them ; and they are inwardly moved to believe that this is true ; afterwards finding peace in their consciences, they understand in what manner Christ was punished on their account. They who do not believe it, or believe it uninspired but taught, never finding peace in their consciences, never

understand it; the saying of the prophet Isaiah (vii. 9) being fulfilled in them : ‘ *Nisi credideritis, non intelligetis,*’ ‘ Unless ye believe, ye shall not understand.’

CONSIDERATION C.

That the fruits, which in Christians at their first incorporation into Christ appear to be of the Spirit, are of the flesh.

SEEING by experience that almost all who, by accepting the Gospel, come to be incorporated into Christ, find in themselves at their first incorporation certain tastes and sentiments, and certain desires and impulses, and certain apprehensions of Holy Scripture, of Christian relations and certain tears, all which appear as though they were of the Spirit whilst they are wholly of the flesh, and like carnal objects in the course of time wither and perish; and seeking to know how this is brought about, I have considered, that that befalls every individual incorporated into Christ which happens to a bough, which having been lopped from one tree, is grafted into another. I mean to say, that just as this bough would not produce the fruit which it yields, had it not been inserted into that tree, since that first fruit is almost wholly formed of the sap which it bore in itself from the tree whence it was cut off, so the person incorporated

into Christ would not have the tastes, nor the sentiments, nor the impulses, nor the desires, nor the views, nor the tears which he has, if he were not incorporated into Christ : but that is almost all flesh, affection of the flesh, carnal complacency and satisfaction, which, being still alive without being able to satisfy itself, or to feel complacency, in carnal things, takes complacency and satisfaction in spiritual things.

Whence I understand that every person, who attains to be incorporated into Christ, may rejoice in those tastes and sentiments, in those desires and impulses, and in those views and tears, forasmuch as they assure him that he is incorporated into Christ, since he would not have had any one of these things, had he not participated in that incorporation : and I understand that, holding them to be fruits of the flesh, and not of the Spirit, of the sap of that root of Adam and not of that of Christ, he ought to lop them off and throw them away, not feeding himself in any way upon them, because that would happen to him which happens to many others, who, feeding upon such food, persuade themselves that they live after the Spirit whilst they live after the flesh.

And I understand that they ought to give heed that nothing be found in them that is not spiritual, and that does not spring from Christ as its root, in which it is incorporated and as it were grafted, producing as fruit, from Christ as its root, humility, meekness, patience, self-abasement, abnegation of self-will, obedience to God, charity ; for all these things were seen in Christ, whilst in the body conversing with men. And God inspires us to aim at these things, and the Spirit of Christ impels us towards them, and they are resplendent in those who

are perfectly incorporated into Christ : and these fruits redound to the glory of God and to the glory of this same Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION CI.

Whence it proceeds that the impious cannot believe ;
that the superstitious believe with facility ; and
that the pious believe with difficulty.

IN the impious, I observe impossibility of belief : and I call those impious who profess themselves to be the enemies of God : such was Pharaoh, and such were the Scribes and Pharisees, who were opposed to Christ.

In the superstitious, I observe facility of belief : and I call those superstitious who, not being pious, make profession of piety, and believe themselves to be pious.

In the pious, I observe difficulty of belief ; and I call those pious who, having through the Holy Spirit accepted the general pardon which is offered us in the Gospel, strive to be confirmed in it, and to live in time a life similar to that which they have to live in eternity.

The impossibility (of belief) in the impious I understand to consist in this, that God blinds their eyes, stops their ears, and hardens their hearts, to

the end that, not recognising the general pardon which is intimated to them, they do not believe it, and thus do not attain salvation. It was thus that St. John understood this, when he said (John xii. 39, 40) — '*Propterea non poterant credere, quia iterum dixit Esaias; excæcavit oculos eorum,*' 'Therefore, they could not believe, because that Isaiah said again (Is. vi. 9, 10), He hath blinded their eyes;' nay, Christ understood this same thing, as appears from the three Evangelists, Matt. xiii. 14, 15; Mark iv. 12; Luke viii. 10; and St. Paul understood it, as St. Luke testifies in verses 26 and 27 of the last chapter of the Acts.

The facility with which the superstitious believe, proceeds, as I understand, from their belief being based upon human wisdom, from belief sustained by opinion and by report, and from belief merely of habit and custom, holding hesitancy to be impiety. That such is the fact is proved by this; that along with the truths which they believe, they hold much that is false, and believe in the false more strongly than in the true: nay, they do not believe that which is the foundation of all truth, namely, the remission of sins and reconciliation with God by the justice of God executed upon Christ. And I affirm that they do not believe it, for had they believed it, by that very fact they would cease to be superstitious, and would be pious.

The difficulty with which the pious believe, proceeds, as I understand, from human wisdom, from an evil conscience, and from mobility of the mind and from lasciviousness of the flesh.

It proceeds from human wisdom, for the more they continue their efforts to attain assurance as to their faith, the more does human wisdom continue

to oppose and impede them in it. That this is true, appears from this, that because they mainly endeavour to assure and confirm themselves that all their sins were punished in Christ, it is in this point that Christians find greater opposition than in all the other things which they believe.

It proceeds from an evil conscience, inasmuch as it accuses man as an enemy of God, and hence it is with difficulty that he feels assured of that which the Gospel declares, that God has already pardoned him and holds him as a friend. That this is true, appears from this ; that so soon as the man has peace of conscience, he is so confirmed in his faith that he is but little tempted to doubt.

It proceeds from mobility of the mind and from lasciviousness of the flesh, inasmuch as the mind of man is prone to mobility and the flesh is prone to sensuous indulgence ; these oppose faith most sharply, understanding, or divining, that faith slays in man the mobility of his mind, and mortifies the lasciviousness of his flesh. That this is true, appears from this ; that in proportion as the mobility of man's mind, and the lasciviousness of his flesh, continue to die out in him, so does he experience increased facility in believing : but it is not to be understood that either death or mortification are the causes of his facilitated belief ; but faith being that which slays and mortifies us, our faith is inwardly facilitated, our enemies' forces are removed. I call those enemies which render belief more difficult to us.

So that human wisdom, an evil conscience, and mobility of mind together with lasciviousness of the flesh, are the three instruments of which wicked spirits avail themselves to make it difficult for us to believe, for us who believe by revelation and by divine

inspiration. Nay, I understand that by these three instruments belief in the general pardon is impeded in the superstitious, who readily believe everything else ; and by these same do I understand belief to be rendered impossible to the impious, whom God has made blind, deaf, and dumb : self-love being in all, that is to say, in the impious, in the superstitious, and in the pious, their chief enemy ; and certainly it is true that from it proceeds the opposition of human wisdom, from it the opposition of an evil conscience, and from it the repugnance of the mobility of mind and of the lasciviousness of the flesh. That this is true, appears from this, that were it not from self-love, man would not be so curious in wishing to be certified of Christian verity, nor would there be such scrupulosity of conscience, nor would it be so averse to the death of the mobility of mind, nor to the mortification of the lasciviousness of the flesh, and thus the contradictions would cease, and the contradictions ceasing, difficulty of belief would cease too.

From all this discourse, the conclusion that may be gathered is this ; that if the impious would be liberated from the impossibility of believing, let them attend to the renunciation of self-love, if they be able to do so ; and if the superstitious would recognise themselves as not being pious, that they do not believe as they ought to believe, nor that which they should believe, let them attend to divest themselves of self-love as much as they may be able ; and that the pious who feel themselves annoyed by difficulty of belief, and desire to remove the difficulty, and thus facilitate belief, let them labour to disenamour themselves of self and of the world, and to enamour themselves of God and of Christ. This they will do by considering the evil there is in themselves and

in the world, and the good there is in God and in Christ.

I say that this consideration will be very profitable to them, provided that it ever be accompanied with prayer, supplicating of God that He disenamour them of themselves and of the world ; and that He enamour them of Himself and of Christ ; and that He slay and mortify in them all that is carnal and savours of human wisdom, in order that they may possess such an amount of faith as may bring it to pass that they never indulge in doubt nor vacillate therein ; ever remaining, as they owe it to themselves to be, faithful and loyal to Him, being made His children by the incorporation with which they are incorporated into His only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION CII.

That Christian faith needs to be confirmed by experience :
 the nature of experience ; and the mode of
 acquiring it.

FAITH being the foundation of Christianity, which consists in accepting the general pardon through divine justice, already executed upon Christ ; it appears to be right that the Christian occupy himself with the considerations that are connected with faith. And thus amongst the other things which I have

brought under consideration relating to faith, is this, that man is never staunch, firm, and constant in the Christian faith, until he has some experience of what he believes. And then it is certain that his stability bears an exact proportion to his personal experience; and the same thing occurs to us who believe in the Gospel, as that which we realise in reference to a very learned and highly spiritual man. I mean to say that, just as whilst we believed in the wisdom and spirituality of this man by the report of other men, we are in such a state of mind, that were other men to come and make us an opposite report, we should change the opinion we held of him, or should at least entertain doubts concerning him, until having formed a close intimacy with such an one, we know by experience that the report made to us was true, for then no man would be able to persuade us of the contrary; so likewise, whilst we believe what the Gospel says, that God punished in Christ all our sins, from the report made to us by those who preach the Gospel, we are in danger if other preachers come, who declare the contrary, of changing our belief, or at least of being made to doubt of what we first heard preached, until, gaining experience of what is preached in the Gospel, we stand firm and constant in what we believe, all the men in the world being unable to divert or alienate us from our faith, by any means whatever, since it would be established by our own experience.

Hence I understand that the first and main object that we have to keep in view who accept the Gospel, believing that God has punished all our sins in Christ, is to acquire the experimental knowledge of this, in order that being thus established in our faith, no man may be able to divert us from it, nor

to make us doubt or vacillate, which men may do, as long as our faith is not established upon experience.

And if anyone ask me in what way experience of faith is acquired, I reply to him that man has experience of what he believes, when he has peace of conscience, when it seems to him that he could appear before God in judgment, with the same safety that he would have appeared, had he lived with the innocence in which Christ lived, and had he suffered, by the will of God, what Christ suffered.

Moreover I reply, that mortification and vivification are the most efficacious forms of experience, by which our faith is established, since only they who believe know themselves to be justified in Christ, are mortified and are quickened.

And should another ask me, saying, What shall I, who believe, do to confirm my faith by experience? I should reply, Let him do two things.

First, let him divest himself of all Christless modes of justification, both of those that are negative and of those that are positive, and, embracing only the justification that is in Christ, which consists in believing, let him strive in prayer to God, supplicating of Him that He would cause him to feel peace of conscience, that He would mortify him, and that He would quicken him.

Secondly, let him keep the strictest reckoning with himself, as to his works, and words, and thoughts, for the purpose of knowing by all these things what progress he has made in mortification, and what in vivification, and with the design of mortifying and quickening himself to a greater extent daily, striving to acquire that Christian experience by which Christian faith is established.

And as to the man who is anxious to know what he ought to do to get rid of his own modes of justification, both those that are negative and those that are positive, I advise that he strip himself of those that are negative, knowing that if he do not kill, if he do not steal, if he do not act the fornicator, and if he do not injure his neighbour, it is either because he is not inclined to do so, or because he fears social disgrace, or the penalty which attaches to these crimes in this life ; and he will be able to convince himself of this, by considering that he does not refrain from doing other things, to which he is inclined, that do not involve social disgrace, and that are not punished in this life, such as ambition, honour, self-pleasing, and his own reputation. I will, moreover, tell him that of these things that are positive, he must divest himself of them, knowing, on the other hand, the superstition which he has blended with some of them, and, on the other, the self-love with which he has contaminated and defiled the rest : and he will in this way be brought to such a state, that, knowing himself to be deprived and stripped of every false mode of justification, he will be constrained to embrace that which the Gospel offers him, showing him that God punished all our sins in His only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION CIII.

Of opposition to the imaginations which disturb our
Christian faith.

I NOW return to consider what I have frequently declared, namely, that a man's being tempted to doubt is a work of Christian progress; because I understand that such temptation originates in a man's wish to believe, and in a desire to stand firm and constant in the Christian faith, in the general pardon which is intimated to men in the Gospel.

The ungodly are not tempted to doubt, because they neither wish nor desire to believe; nor are even the superstitious tempted to doubt, because, believing with human and fleshly wisdom, they have nobody to tempt them to doubt. They who have made progress in the Christian life are little tempted to doubt, for having confirmed their faith by much experience, they have disarmed their enemies; I speak of those who tempted them to doubt.

And here I understand that men are incapable of possessing such an amount of faith in themselves, as to be wholly freed from temptation to doubt, and for this reason God gives them faith according to their capacity. Just as we do not put water equally hot into a glass vessel as into an earthen one, nor into an earthen one as into a brazen one, but take into

account the vessel's capacity of resistance lest it break; so that great temptation to doubt remains only for those who having renounced irreligion, and being undeceived as to superstition, begin, by the Holy Spirit's aid, to accept the general pardon, which the Gospel notifies, and to bear fruit in Christian life, and continue to make progress in it; for they, though desirous to believe, find human wisdom active within them, of which the evil spirits avail themselves in order to tempt them to doubt.

And it is thus that when one of these persons, renouncing and deserting all manner of self-justification, those which consist in doing and those which consist in abstaining, desires to embrace the righteousness of Christ, which the Gospel offers us, when, through his own imperfection, he does not see it so clearly and manifestly as he sees material things, and those which are agreeable to human wisdom, he is presently tried and tempted to doubt of the truth which the Gospel affirms.

Whereupon a person of this sort ought immediately to counteract such a temptation in this way.

In the first place, let him regard his being tempted to doubt as a certain token of his advance in the Christian faith, and say, 'Had I not wished and desired to believe, I should not be tempted to doubt, as I was not tempted when I did not entertain this wish and this desire;' and thus he will come to comfort himself with that by which the Devil seeks to disturb him. And should fancy prompt him to say that his doubts are of the same character as those entertained by doubters who are destitute of the Spirit, he will say, 'It is not so; for the doubters who are destitute of the Spirit feel no annoyance in doubting, nor do they desire to be freed from it,

whilst I am annoyed by doubt, and desire to be freed from it; consequently, I am certain that my doubts are not of the same kind as those of the doubters who are destitute of the Spirit; I mean to say, not tried and tempted to doubt, because they desire to believe.'

Secondly, he will think thus: 'If this Christian faith were not a thing spiritual and divine, it would not find in me the contradiction which it finds, just as the things which are neither spiritual nor divine, but superstitious and human, and of which I sought to be convinced, found in me no inward opposition;' and in this manner, the opposition with which Satan wished to disquiet him will prove a means of calming him.

Thirdly, he will think thus: 'If this Christian faith were not the gift of God, I should not feel such new inward desires to please God, to be for evermore united to God, to see Him glorified and sanctified by all men: which desires I feel, since I have resigned myself in earnest to the faith;' and with the experience of the love of God after this sort he will be assured of the truth there is in what the Gospel affirms.

Fourthly, he will think thus: 'If this Christian faith were not a thing spiritual and divine, it would not have given rise to that abhorrence of material, human, and earthly things, which, if I indeed do not wholly abhor, at least I am brought so far that I do not love them, I do not pursue them, I do not desire them as I was wont;' and in this manner (subjectively) experiencing mortification he will be confirmed in Christian truth.

Fifthly, he will think thus: 'If I knew any other thing better than this, or at least equal to this, with

which I might appear before the judgment of God, I might have good cause to doubt of the truth of it; but not knowing at present either anything better, or equal to it, I have no cause to doubt.' And in this way he will be assured that he is on the side to win, and not to lose, and that by persevering in this Christian faith, he cannot lose, but win. And were fancy to prompt him to say, that he might lose much were that untrue which the Gospel declares, as far as it attributed that to Christ which is not due to Him, and which, not being due to Him, would prove offensive to the glory and majesty of God; he will instantly recur to experience, and will think thus; 'Since I know myself to be pardoned through Christ, and reconciled to God through Christ, recognising myself as dead with Christ, and raised again with Christ, and expecting my glorification with Christ, I know and feel, and find within me, germs of mortification, through contempt of the world and of myself, and I feel the germs of vivification, through love and affection to God, to the glory of God, and to the will of God, and these germs are good; and since it is true that a good effect never does proceed from a bad cause, it is likewise true that the cause is good whence such an effect is derived, and therefore what the Gospel notifies and affirms is most certain and true, that God, having laid all our sins upon Christ, and having punished them all in Christ, has pardoned us all of them, and has reconciled us to Himself, which pardon and which reconciliation all enjoy who believe.'

The Christian, who, being desirous of embracing the righteousness of Christ, is disturbed with suggestions which tempt him to doubt, will make a stand here, and closing the door to those which threaten to

assail him, will commend himself to God, saying with Hezekiah, as reported in Isaiah xxxviii. 14, '*Domine vim patior, responde pro me,*' 'O Lord, I am oppressed; undertake for me:' and let him be sure that God will help him, and fulfil what He promised by David, where He says in Psalm xci. 15, '*Cum ipso sum, in tribulatione eripiam eum et glorificabo eum,*' 'I will be with him in trouble: I will deliver him and honour him.'

CONSIDERATION CIV.

That baptism through faith of the Gospel is efficacious, even in children who die ere they attain a competent age to be able to approve their having been baptized.

AVAILING myself of the opportunity given by what St. Peter states (1 Pet. iii. 20, 21), that the ark in which Noah saved himself during the deluge was a type of our Christian baptism, I have considered, that as Noah, by giving credit to God's word, believed that the deluge would come, and believed that he and his would be saved in the ark, not by virtue of the ark, which naturally was unequal to effect this, but by the will of God, who employed that ark as an instrument of safety for him and his; so we, giving credit to the Gospel of God, believe that Christ will come to judge both the quick and

the dead, and believe that, our sins having been punished in Christ, we and ours shall be saved at that judgment, being baptised, not by the virtue of the water, which naturally is unequal to effect this, but the will of God, who employs water as the means of our salvation. God could well have saved Noah, in the Deluge, without the ark ; and it appears that He selected the ark as a means, condescending to Noah's weakness, who more readily believed that he should save himself in the ark, than he could have believed that he would have to save himself without the ark ; not that he placed his confidence in the ark, but in God's word, which promised to save him in the ark ; and thus faith saved Noah, and not the ark, for by faith he made the ark, and lodged himself in it.

Similarly, God could well save us at the day of judgment without baptismal water ; and it appears that He employs water as a means, condescending to our weakness, which causes us the more readily to believe that we are saved by baptism, than we should believe that we had to be saved without baptism, although we do not put our confidence in the water, but in the word of the Gospel of God, which promised to save us by baptism : and thus we shall be saved at the universal judgment, not because we baptise ourselves, but on account of the faith with which we do so baptise ourselves.

Wherein I understand two things.

The one, that it is the duty of us Christians, all of us, to feel assurance with reference to the judgment day, by recollecting that we have been baptised, just as Noah felt assurance with reference to the Deluge, by recollection of the ark, the ark being to him what baptism is to us.

The other, that we, who have been baptised when children, have cause to be assured, we are then really and effectively baptised, when having arrived at years of discretion, and hearing by God's will the voice of the Gospel, we so rejoice in having been baptised, that had we not been baptised, we then would be so. Our situation resembles that of a man who might have been placed in Noah's ark whilst he was asleep, who, on waking and finding himself in the ark, should thank Noah for placing him there, and declare that if he had not entered it, and it was possible for him to enter it, he without hesitation would have entered it. So that, just as that man, having been taken on board the ark, not by his own personal faith, but by that of Noah, would have been saved in the ark by his own personal faith approving of his having been taken into the ark; so we, who have been baptised in our infancy, having been introduced to baptism not by our own personal faith, but by the faith of those who introduced us to it, shall be saved in baptism by our own personal faith approving and ratifying the fact of our having been baptised.

Another thing may be affirmed, that just as the animals which Noah introduced into the ark, entered by Noah's faith, and were saved at the deluge by Noah's faith, they having no knowledge of good or evil to lead them to enter the ark, nor to approve their introduction when they had been placed there; so the children of Christians, who enter into baptism through the faith of their fathers, and never attain the age to be able to approve or disapprove what their fathers have done—these, for that they have no knowledge of good and of evil, shall be saved at the judgment of God by the faith

with which their fathers brought them to baptism. In fact, the power and efficacy of faith is most mighty. I speak of that which, giving credit to the promises of God, feels assured of their fulfilment, showing its assurance by carrying out the external rite which God, on His part, has commanded.

This faith saved Noah at the Deluge, by means of the ark : and this faith shall save at the day of judgment, by means of baptism, all those of us who, believing in the Gospel, shall be baptised '*in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti*,' 'in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit' (Matt. xxviii. 19), to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

CONSIDERATION CV.

Three sources whence the ignorance is derived whereby
men err against God.

CONSIDERING what St. Paul says, when speaking of the sin which he had committed against God, in persecuting the Christian church, in 1 Tim. i. 13, '*Sed misericordiam Dei consecutus sum, quia ignorans feci in incredulitate*,' 'But I obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly, in unbelief :' and considering the prayer proffered by Christ, when hanging on the cross, to His eternal Father, for the sin of those who crucified Him; saying (Luke xxiii. 34), '*Pater, dimitte illis, non enim sciunt quid faciunt*,' 'Father, forgive them, for

they know not what they do : ' and considering what St. Paul says (1 Cor. ii. 8) of the wise men of this world : '*Si enim cognovissent, nunquam Dominum gloriæ crucifixissent,*' 'For had they known, they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory : ' I have deduced three sources, from which, as I understand, proceed all the errors which men perpetrate against God through ignorance. The first is malice ; the second, inconsiderateness ; the third, unbelief.

Thus it was from St. Paul's being in a state of unbelief, from his disbelieving that Christ was the Son of God, that He was the Messiah promised in the Law, that He died for the sins of every one, that He was raised for the resurrection of every one, that He was glorified for the glorification of every one ; it proceeded, that he persecuted and slew those who believed and preached this, thinking thereby to render God service ; as others successively have done, and continue to do, from the same motive that St. Paul did, who, like St. Paul, have erred and do err against God ; not through inconsiderateness, for he and they are mindful of what they do ; nor from malice, for they do not from self-interest hate those whom they persecute ; but through unbelief, from not believing in Christ. Whence I understand that it came to pass, that God, exercising mercy towards St. Paul, gave him to know Christ, and thus from a notorious persecutor he became a most distinguished preacher ; which, as I understand, has happened to those who have erred as St. Paul erred.

From inconsideration of what they did, the Gentiles, who were ministers and executors of the death of Christ, in slaying the innocent erred inconsiderately, as many Gentiles have erred, who have put many Christians to death, not considering what they do ;

for had they considered as they should have done, there is no doubt that they would not have done it: and for this reason, because they erred like irrational creatures, the error is not charged against them. I believe this, feeling assured that God heard Christ with favour when He said: '*Pater, dimitte illis, non enim sciunt quid faciunt,*' 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do;' and St. Stephen, when he said (Acts vii. 60), '*Domine, ne statuas illis hoc peccatum,*' 'Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.'

From the fact that the minds of the Scribes and Pharisees were incensed against Christ, as those persons who resemble the Scribes and Pharisees, and make profession of sanctity outwardly, but inwardly are destitute of it, have been, and are, successively incensed against the imitators of Christ, it came to pass, is come to pass, and continues to come to pass, that they maliciously slay those whom they have recognised, and do recognise, as members of Christ, who always have been hated by those whom the world deems saints, because they ruin and prostrate that sanctity of which the latter make profession. I do not understand that God exercises mercy towards these, because, although they are, like St. Paul, in unbelief, it is not unbelief which leads them to err, but their own malice and malignity. Neither do I understand that Christ prayed, nor do Christ's members pray, for these, because their error does not spring from inconsideration, but from malignant depravity. Nay, I understand this sin to be that which Christ designates as being against the Holy Spirit, which He declares, in Matt. xii. 31, 'shall not be forgiven, neither in this world, nor in the world to come;' and, as I understand, the same sin which St. John declares to be '*peccatum ad*

mortem, 'a sin unto death' (1 John v. 16). The men who, imitating the Scribes and Pharisees, err through ignorance springing from malice, cease to be men, and become fiends. The men who, imitating the Gentiles* that slew Christ, err through ignorance springing from inconsiderateness, cease to be men, and become beasts. And the men who, imitating St. Paul, err through ignorance springing from unbelief, are men, in the real sense of the word, to whom unbelief is as peculiar as inconsiderateness is to the brutes, and as malice is to fiends; and for this reason the unbelief that springs from error, without commixture of malice and inconsiderateness, finds mercy with God; for he is led to believe, who errs from ignorance that arises from unbelief.

Wherefore, should any one ask me, saying: Whence believest thou the ignorance of the Jews proceeded of which St. Paul speaks in Rom. x. 3, '*Ignorantes enim justitiam Dei, et suam quærentes statuere, justitiæ Dei non sunt subjecti*,' 'For they being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God?' I reply, that it owed its existence partly to malice and partly to unbelief, through the hatred which they bore to the Gospel. And that this is true, appears from the fact that some believed, whilst others remained in their unbelief.

I give this same answer to him who asks me whence sprang, and still springs, the error through ignorance of those of whom Christ speaks (John xvi. 2), '*Ut omnis qui interficit vos arbitretur se obsequium præstare Deo*,' 'That whosoever killeth you, will

* The Roman soldiers obeyed Jewish instructions.

think that he doeth God service;' and so much the more, inasmuch as it appears to me that St. Paul was one of these, and found mercy, because his error through ignorance originated in unbelief.

From this discourse I learn that every man ought to be on his guard, not to enter passionately into things which pertain to religion; I mean to say, in defending one, and attacking another vehemently; in order that passion may not so blind him as that he should come to err against God, through an ignorance that has its source in malice.

Further I learn, that man ought not, without consideration, to apply himself to any one of the various things that may present themselves to him, and still less to those which relate to religion, lest he should come to be numbered amongst the irrational creatures.

Moreover I learn, that the man who finds himself free from passion, and from inconsiderateness, that he may not transgress against God, must recognise himself to be in a state of unbelief, and hence pray to God to be freed from it; and in the meanwhile he ought to abstain from the execution of those things which might damage his neighbour, and especially when they shall appear most holy and most righteous before God.

And I learn, too, that only the regenerate Christian, being more than man, and having escaped unbelief, does not err through malice, nor through inconsideration, nor through unbelief, but errs only through frailty. Inasmuch as he has not wholly ceased to be man, neither has he yet fully comprehended Christian perfection, into which he is brought through his incorporation into the death, the resurrection, and the glorification of the Son of God, Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION CVI.

That that which the Holy Scripture calls the knowledge
of good and evil, the worldly-wise of mankind
have called, and do call, natural light,
wisdom, and human reason.

By what I read of the creation and of the fall of man, I consider that man was at first created in the image and likeness of God, and was placed in the garden called the terrestrial Paradise. And afterwards, having eaten of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, he lost the image and likeness of God, and was expelled the terrestrial Paradise, retaining the knowledge of good and evil.

And I understand, that as it is unnatural to man, and foreign to his first creation, to remain excluded from the terrestrial Paradise, so likewise it is unnatural for him to possess 'the knowledge of good and evil.' And by what I experience in man's restoration, in his regeneration, and in his being made a new creature, considering that, in order to accept the grace of the Gospel, remission of sins and reconciliation with God, through the execution of the justice of God upon Christ, and thus to enter into the kingdom of God, and recover the image and likeness of God; and to be under the guidance of

the Holy Spirit, he is constrained to subdue his intellect, and renounce and mortify his wisdom, and his human reason and his natural light; I understand that what the Holy Scripture calls the *knowledge* of good and evil, the worldly-wise amongst men have called, and do call, *the light of nature, wisdom, and human reason*. And thus I am led to understand, that man is constrained to subdue his intellect, to mortify his wisdom and his natural light, which is the same as to renounce the knowledge of good and evil, in order to attain restoration, regeneration, and Christian renewal; for it is a thing most just, that he who has to regain what he lost should first renounce what he has gained—which is tantamount to saying, that if he has to regain spiritual light, let him renounce natural light.

And if we grant—what we needs must grant, both from what we read and what we experience—that the restoration of our human nature by regeneration and Christian renewal consists in this, that man, accepting the Gospel, and incorporated into Christ, gradually advances in the recovery of the mode of being, the position and dignity, in which the first man was created, and progressively rids himself of the mode of being, position, and dignity in which the first man remained after he had fallen; similarly we must needs grant, that just as what we gain is foreign to the mode of being we now have, so likewise that of which we rid ourselves was not natural to the being we received primarily at creation.

Thus we come clearly to understand, that the natural light which we now have does not date from our first creation, but from that of our fall; and moreover, that the spiritual light which we gain through Christ, dates from our first creation. And I

understand, that this spiritual light was as natural to man at his first creation as the knowledge of good and evil, and the light of nature, are natural to him now. And I think, that the first man, not recognizing the spiritual light to be a thing peculiarly his own, but communicated by the favour of God, desired the knowledge of good and evil, pretending that that would be natural to him, as indeed it is (since the fall).

And I understand, that man acquires more or less of this knowledge of good and evil, according as he is more or less purged and purified from the affections and appetites which are according to the flesh. Hence I think that the worldly-wise among men have been led to believe, that the knowledge of good and evil is a spiritual thing, and dates from the first creation of man, not considering that this effect has for its cause, that the knowledge of good and evil, and the light of nature, constitute perfection in fallen man, as spiritual light had constituted it in his first state of creation, and does so in his state of restoration. Two things present themselves in opposition to what has been said.

The first, from what St. Paul says in Rom. i. 19, 20, that the Gentiles might have been able to know God by the light of nature; and by what the same apostle states in Rom. ii. 14, 15, that they ought by nature to have known the will of God, it appears that the light of nature does not date from the fall of man, but from the period of his first creation.

The second, that it being true that the saints of old, as for instance David, and the saints of more recent periods, as for instance Paul, have availed themselves in their writings of the light of nature, of wisdom, and of human reason, they appear to be

neither bad nor to be renounced, neither to be got rid of nor to be mortified.

I understand that it may be replied to the first, that St. Paul being desirous of convicting the Gentiles, forasmuch as they excused themselves by saying, that they had not been able to know God, and that thus they had not adored Him : nor had they been able to know the will of God, and for that reason they had lived viciously ; he shows them that,—although they had not the knowledge of God, so that they could adore Him, nor that of the will of God, so that they could obey Him, which knowledge being derived from spiritual light, was in the first man before his fall, and exists in Christians in their restoration,—neither having had the knowledge which the Jews had through their Holy Scriptures ; that having had the knowledge which is attainable by the light of nature, in contemplation of the creatures, and by the testimony of their consciences, and not having lived up to this knowledge of God, and of the will of God :—they were in fault, nor had they any excuse whatever. So that it is not to be inferred from St. Paul's statement that the Christian has not to renounce his light of nature ; though the light of nature suffices to know God after a certain fashion, and to understand the will of God.

To the second I consider it may be avowed, that the saints avail themselves, in their writings, of the knowledge of good and evil, to the extent of its powers, which is still more highly illustrated in them through spiritual light, and that they have renounced it and mortified it, in that wherein it is impotent, that is, in justification through Christ, in reconciliation with God, in the rule and sway of the Holy Spirit, and generally in all things celestial, spiritual, and

divine. I well understand that the felicity and perfection of man would be much greater, were the knowledge of good and evil wholly extinct and dead, and were the spiritual light wholly burning and alive; but I likewise understand that passible and mortal flesh is not substance capable of such felicity; and I understand that it will become so after the resurrection, when it shall have attained impassibility and immortality. In the meanwhile, saints must needs avail themselves of the knowledge of good and evil, and of the light of nature, forasmuch as they hold converse and relations with men who avail themselves of the same knowledge and of the same light, following in so doing Christ's counsel in Matt. x., '*Estote prudentes sicut serpentes,*' 'Be ye wise as serpents;' and what St. Paul says in 1 Cor. xiv. 20, '*Sensibus autem perfecti estote,*' 'But in understanding be ye perfect.'

Here two things occur to me.

The first, that since the knowledge of good and evil, the light of nature, wisdom, and human reason, came into man's possession, by disobedience to God, and are connected with his fallen state, it follows that this knowledge, this light, and this wisdom, never yield real happiness to man—nay, as Solomon declares in Eccles. i. 18, that with the increase of knowledge, light, and wisdom, affliction, sorrow, and grief increase also, and therewith happiness is diminished.

The second, that considering that Adam, prior to his knowledge of good and evil, was not ashamed to be naked, and that, subsequent to his knowledge of good and evil, he was ashamed of it and clothed himself,—I come to understand, that whilst man has spiritual light, and avails himself of it, he recognises

no defect in the works of God, nor does he pretend to correct them and amend them; and that whilst he has the knowledge of good and evil, and avails himself of it, he affects to discover defects in the works of God, and pretends to correct them and amend them. Such is the arrogance of the men who glory in the possession of the knowledge of good and evil, in possessing great natural light, great wisdom, and great human reason; and such likewise is the humility of the men who possess spiritual light, who take their places in the kingdom of God, upheld by the faith of the Gospel, incorporated into the Son of God, Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION CVII.

In what manner, from man's ignorance both of himself and of God, it is rendered impossible for him to accept the grace of the Gospel.

THE more profoundly I occupy myself in meditating upon the benefit of Christ, considering that He is in all, and supreme in all those who accept Him, the more do I marvel that all men do not run after, and embrace, and enthrone Him in their hearts, since remission of sins and reconciliation with God, and consequently immortality and life, are offered to them gratuitously with Christ. And having frequently

occupied myself in considering whence it could proceed that all they who have been informed of this matchless grace do not accept it, I understood that its non-acceptance proceeded from man's ignorance both of himself and of God.

And in effect it comes to pass, that being unconscious of his inward impiety, malignity, and rebellion, which, through original sin, are natural to him, man does not distrust himself as to his personal ability to satisfy God, and to be just before God.

In like manner it comes to pass, that man, not recognising goodness, mercy, and faithfulness in God, distrusts Him, and is thence unable either to persuade himself or to assure his mind, that the righteousness of Christ can belong to him; that God can accept him as righteous on account of what Christ suffered.

And if man did but know himself, considering himself as impious, malignant, and rebellious, not only as personally such, but through his being, as he is, a son of Adam, he would distrust himself as to his personal ability of self-justification. And if he did but know God, recognising in Him goodness, mercy, and faithfulness, he would easily trust Him, accepting the pardon which the Gospel offers him, and so much the more, that, knowing himself, it would not appear very strange to him that God should pardon, without personal merit on his part, the ills and transgressions into which he had consciously fallen, partly without his own fault and partly by his own fault, springing and derived from that foreign source, with reference to which David excused his fault, saying in Psl. li., '*Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum,*' &c., 'For behold, in sin was I conceived,' &c.

Whence I understand, that just as it is impossible

that man, neither knowing himself nor knowing God, can accept the grace of the Gospel, or rely upon it; so it is equally impossible that man, knowing both himself and God, should either pretend or think to justify himself by his own works, or to shun the bad or to apply himself to the good. And should any one say to me, 'How then did the Jewish saints, who knew themselves and knew God too, attempt to justify themselves through the sacrifices prescribed by the Law?' I answer, that the Jewish saints did not base their justification upon their sacrifices, but upon the word of God, which promised to pardon them upon their performance of those sacrifices. And here I understand it to have been much more difficult for the Jewish saints, because they knew themselves and knew God, to be induced to hold themselves justified by their sacrifices, than it is to Christian saints, who know themselves and know God, to be induced to hold themselves justified by faith and acceptance of the grace of the Gospel. Forasmuch as it is most certain that the Jewish saints, in sacrificing, knew that they gave God what they themselves, from their own natural inclination, felt complacency in offering Him, and what they knew, in and of itself, neither pleased nor satisfied God, as appears from many passages that we read in the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, and especially in the Psalms and in Isaiah; and as it is also most certain and true that Christian saints, in believing, know that they render to God what they, from natural inclination, would fain not offer Him, and what God takes pleasure in and wills that it be offered Him, as appears from the whole text of the sacred Scriptures of the New Testament. Hence I come to this conclusion: that the men who, under

the Gospel dispensation, aim to justify themselves by works, testify concerning themselves that they neither know themselves nor do they know God; whilst they who aim to be justified by faith, testify concerning themselves that they know both themselves and that they know God too.

Wherefore, calling to mind an allegory which I have elsewhere written, representing that God did that with the Jewish people, in giving them a ceremonial law, which a merchant does, when setting out for the East, and suspecting his wife's chastity, and knowing her to be inclined to compose sonnets and songs, desires her to write one daily upon incidents that had transpired between them, although he took no pleasure in sonnets himself; and considering that that happened to the Jews, who neither knew themselves nor God, which might happen to the merchant's wife upon the supposition that, not knowing either her own inclination or that of her husband, she should think to justify herself to him by offering him sonnets, having lost her chastity; and considering that that happened to the Jews, who knew themselves and who knew God, which might befall the same woman, upon the supposition that, knowing both her own inclination and that of her husband, she should pretend to obey her husband by making sonnets, not going astray, nor engaging in other practices calculated to dishonour her husband; I am brought to know the excessive impropriety of those who, living under the Gospel dispensation, pretend or think to justify themselves by works, and in the doing of that which has not been enjoined; since they cannot allege obedience as the Jewish saints could, whose obedience was imputed to them for righteousness, and held them in fellowship with God, without com-

mitting adultery against God, as did they who, neither knowing themselves nor knowing God, pretended to justify themselves by their sacrifices.

In this discourse I learn, amongst other things, two of pre-eminent importance.

The first is, that, since it is true that God does not ask men to offer sacrifices, in asking them to believe, to accept the grace, the remission of sins, and reconciliation with God, which the Gospel offers them, showing them that God, having laid upon Christ the sins of all men, has punished them all in Him, and thus His justice is satisfied,—the man, however sinful and bad he may be, who shall not hold himself as pardoned by and reconciled to God, and thus as just, by that very fact, will testify of himself that he does not know God, since he distrusts His word, and that he does not know Christ, since he wants assurance that he is justified in Christ; and if such an one shall pretend to justify himself by works, he will testify concerning himself that he does not know the natural inclination of man. So that I must either know myself to be righteous in Christ, although I recognise myself to be a sinner in myself, or I must deny what the Gospel affirms, that God has punished in Christ the iniquities and sins of all men, and mine with theirs: or I am constrained to say that God is unjust, punishing sins twice, once in Christ and again in me. And because it would be an act of impiety to say this, and to deny the other would be an act of infidelity, it remains that I am constrained to hold myself as pardoned by and reconciled to God, and thus, as justified in Christ, making the natural light submit to the spiritual light.

The second thing that I learn is: that it being true that the impossibility which man finds in accept-

ing this holy Gospel of Christ, proceeds from man's ignorance of himself and of God, it is every man's duty to strive very earnestly to know himself and his natural inclination derived from Adam, and to know God, mainly occupying himself with continued prayer, praying to God affectionately and fervently that He would open the eyes of his mind, so that he may attain to both these kinds of knowledge, and praying that if He has begun to open them for him, He would continue to open them more every hour. And in this manner, if he has not commenced to accept the holy Gospel of Christ, setting himself about the removal of the impossibility, he will begin to accept it, and, if he shall have begun to accept, the difficulty being removed which he finds in accepting it, he will accept it more and better, faith working efficaciously within him to mortify him and to vivify him. By these things the Christian faith is confirmed in us, which served as the foundation to that most divine confession of St. Peter, when he said to Christ in Matt. xvi. 16, '*Tu es Christus, filius Dei vivi,*' 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.' To Him be glory for evermore. Amen.

CONSIDERATION, CVIII.

In what manner the evil derived from Adam's disobedience affects all; and in what manner the benefit of Christ's obedience affects all.

FROM what I read in Holy Scripture, and from what I know of myself, I understand that to be brought to believe in the benefit of Christ's obedience, and that in Christ's obedience we have all obeyed, and that in Christ's resurrection we all have been raised; it is proper and necessary to believe in the evil of Adam's disobedience, and that in Adam's disobedience we all have disobeyed, and that in Adam's death we all have died. I say, it is necessary for each individual to believe in the evil wrought by Adam, in order to be brought to believe in the benefit wrought by Christ; because I understand it to be impossible for man to believe in the benefit of Christ, unless he believes in the injury of Adam: since if he do not believe it he will not feel it, and if he do not feel it he will neither desire, nor strive to liberate himself from it; and neither desiring nor striving to do so, he will never come to believe the benefit of Christ, which is the proper medicine, the specific against the injury done by Adam. But if he believes the injury done by Adam, he will, together with the belief, have the feeling of it,

and he will discover his inward impiety, infidelity, and hostility to God ; and as he will know that he arrived at such impiety, infidelity, and hostility without any fault of his own, he will thus easily be brought to believe that he may be able to attain piety, fidelity, and loyalty without any merit of his own, whence he will believe in the benefit of Christ, and believing it, he will feel it, conscious of increased loyalty, and that he is, in Christ, a friend of God : and then he will effectually know, that as the evil incident to Adam's disobedience, when he disbelieved it, and therefore never felt it, was effectual in making him, and that of his own fault, more impious, more unbelieving, and more hostile to God ; so the benefit of Christ's obedience is equally effectual, when he believes in it, and therefore feels it, in rendering him personally more faithful and more kindly disposed to Christ. Whence I understand, that just as they who believe in the injury done by Adam, free themselves from it, and those who believe in Christ's benefit, enjoy it ; so they who do not believe in the injury done by Adam do not escape it, and they who do not believe in Christ's benefit do not enjoy it. And true it is, that just as they who believe in Adam's injury, and in Christ's benefit, are for a season subject to Adam's injury, and Christ's benefit is with reference to them partially suspended, so they who disbelieve in Adam's injury and in Christ's benefit are affected by Christ's benefit, and Adam's injury is, with reference to them, partially suspended. Because they who believe are affected by the miseries of this present life, and by death, which are things derived from Adam's injury ; and whilst they are in this present life, and whilst their bodies are in the tomb, the benefit of Christ, with reference to them,

is partially suspended; and because they who disbelieve are affected in this present life by Christ's benefit, enjoying many things in common with those who believe in Christ's benefit, and in the life eternal, because they will be raised again, Adam's injury will with reference to them be suspended. Thus I understand, that as Adam's injury was effectual in bringing death upon us all, from which death, however, they are free who believe; so Christ's benefit is effectual to raise all again, which resurrection, however, they will not enjoy who are unbelievers, for it will then go ill with them. In Adam we all died, in Christ we are all made alive: and all those shall remain subject to Adam's injury who will not accept Christ's benefit, but assuredly none shall remain in the enjoyment of Christ's benefit save those who have believed, and who shall have accepted and felt it. For, in fact, the resurrection of Christ will only be glorious to those who, believing themselves to be dead in Adam, and made alive in Christ, shall yield themselves up to live in this present life, as dead and made alive, beginning even now to live a life greatly resembling that which they have to live in the life eternal. So that just as the being quickened is an imperfect resurrection, so the Christian life in the state of being quickened is imperfect, although when compared with living in a state of depravity it is most perfect: and the portraiture of a life in the state of the resurrection, so far as it admits of imitation in a state of vivification, we see in Jesus Christ our Lord, in His purity, goodness, faithfulness, obedience, and charity.

And here I learn two things.

The first, that since man, by believing in the injury done by Adam, frees himself from it, and by believing

in the benefit conferred by Christ enjoys it, it is the duty of everyone to believe in that injury and in that benefit; not, however, hoping to feel it in order to believe in it,—for this would be to invert the order established by God, who wills that we believe before we feel,—but believing in order to feel it: for by believing in both the injury and the benefit, the virtue of the benefit will obviate the sense of injury; partially in this present life, and wholly in that which is eternal; since we shall then be wholly freed from Adam's injury, and wholly absorbed in the enjoyment of the benefit of Christ.

The other thing that I here learn is, that those who do not surrender themselves to live as dead and having been made alive, by their imitation of Christ's mode of life, do not believe that they have died in Adam, and that they have risen again in Christ, however much they may declare and affirm their belief in both of them: because if they had believed, there is no doubt they would have laboured to live as those who, having been dead, had been made alive; this being the peculiar virtue of faith, to bring by degrees those who really believe themselves to be dead in Adam, and quickened in Christ, to live as dead, and as made alive, not in order that they may become righteous, but because they recognise and feel themselves righteous in Christ, and because they hope for the crown of righteousness, which is immortality and eternal life.

And here I will add, that just as the acceptance of the pardon which a king grants to those who have fled, on account of some crime, out of his kingdom, and entered the service of another king, is sufficient to cause them to leave the foreign kingdom and the service of the foreign king, and

to return to their own kingdom and to the service of their own king ; so the acceptance of the Gospel is sufficient to cause all those who accept it, to leave the kingdom of the world and the service of the world, and to enter the kingdom of God and the service of God : and that ceasing to live after the flesh, they should live after the Spirit. So they who do not leave the kingdom of the world and the service of the world, and cease to live after the flesh, witness concerning themselves that they have not accepted the benefit of the Gospel, however much they may declare their belief in it : just as those persons who do not leave the foreign kingdom and the service of the foreign king, and return to their own kingdom to serve their own king, witness concerning themselves that they do not accept their king's pardon, however much they may declare that they do accept it and do believe in it, since they do not obey the will of their king, who wills concerning them, as God wills concerning us, that is, that we leave the kingdom of the world and the service of the world, and that we come to the kingdom of God, to serve God in holiness, and righteousness, and in the Gospel of His only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Lord.

CONSIDERATION CIX.

Of the conception which I, as a Christian, now have of Christ, and of those who are members of Christ.

DESIRING to determine inwardly the conception which I, as a Christian, ought to have of Christ, I proceed to consider in Him two generations, the one divine and the other human : and two periods, the one of obloquy and the other of glory.

With reference to His divine generation, I know that Christ is the Word of God, the Son of God, of the same substance with the Father, one and the same thing with Him : so like Him that Christ could well say to Philip, as in John xiv. 9, '*Philippe, qui videt me, videt et Patrem,*' 'Philip, he that seeth me, seeth the Father also.' I understand this person to be that Word, with which God created all things, even as Moses declares, in Gen. i. 3, '*Dixit Deus, fiat lux,*' 'God said, Let there be light : ' and even as David says, in Psl. xxxiii. 6, '*Verbo Domini cæli firmati sunt,*' 'By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made.' By this same Word I understand, that God upholds all things, conformably to that passage (John i. 4), '*In ipso vita erat,*' 'In Him was life ; ' and to that in Heb. i. 3, '*Portans omnia verbo virtutis suæ,*' 'Upholding all things by the Word of His power.' I understand this same

Word, whom, by the operation of the Holy Spirit, God clothed with flesh in the womb of the most holy Virgin, with the design of reinstating all things by Him, even as He created them all by Him, and upholds them all by Him ; and I understand that this Word of God was, as Isaiah declares in ch. liii. 10, prosperous in Christ, inasmuch as that was accomplished which God purposed in Him and by Him : and thus I understand that He is one and the same Word of which St. John (i. 1) declares, '*In principio erat verbum, et verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat verbum,*' 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God ;' and further in verse 14, '*Et verbum caro factum est,*' 'And the Word was made flesh ;' and with that of which St. Paul declares, in Col. i. 16, '*Quoniam in ipso condita sunt universa in cœlis et in terra,*' 'For by Him were all things created that are in heaven and in earth.'

But setting myself to investigate in what this divine generation of the Son of God, of the Word of God, consists ; in what manner the Son is begotten of the Father ; for what reason the Word is called the Son, and the Son is called the Word ; I find myself so incapable of grasping this knowledge, that I am afresh confirmed in what I wrote in Consideration XCV., declaring that just as the worms, which are engendered by the corruption of the earth, are wholly incapable of understanding the mode in which one man is generated by another, so men that are begotten by carnal generation are wholly incapable of understanding, not only the mode in which the Son of God was begotten, but likewise the mode in which the sons of God are begotten by the Holy Spirit of God. And had I understood in what manner Moses and

David, St. John and St. Paul, understood that God created all things by His Word, I should understand this divine secret upon the investigation of which I am engaged, in which I proceed to consider the power with which Christ did whatever He pleased in the state of humiliation, being instantaneously obeyed by His creatures, and obstructed by none of them more than was permitted.

Should it please God to render me capable of understanding this divine secret before I quit this present life, I will add hereto what He shall teach me, to His glory and that of Christ, and of those who are the sons of God in Christ and through Christ. Otherwise I shall content myself with this, that I am certain I shall see with these bodily eyes, in the life eternal, what I now desire to see with the eyes of my mind : and, in the meanwhile, I rejoice in what I know at present, that this Word of God is the Son of God ; with whom and by whom God has created and restored all things ; that He is of the same substance with the Father ; that He is one and the same in essence with Him ; and that like Him He is eternal.*

* Here, in this ' Consideration,' we find the futile reason the Anti-trinitarians made use of to claim Juán de Valdés as one with themselves in doctrine.

' Johannes Valdesius,' writes Sandius, in *Bibliotheca Anti-trinitariorum, Friestadii* 1684, p. 2, ' Johannes Valdesius, Nobilis Hispanus, etc. De eo Ministri ecclesiarum consentientium in Sarmatia et Transylvania, lib. i. cap. 3. De falsa et vera unius Dei Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti cognitione, hæc scribunt: *De Iohanne etiam Valdesio, genere et pietate clarissimo, quid dicendum? Qui scriptis publicis suæ eruditionis specimina nobis relinquens, scribit, se*

Juán de Valdés, a Spanish nobleman, etc. The Ministers of the united churches in Sarmatia and Transylvania, in the third chapter of the first book, on the false and true knowledge of one God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, write these things of him :—' What must be said also of Juán de Valdés, a most illustrious man both by birth and piety? who, leaving to us in his public writings examples of his learning, writes thus :— " That he knew

I understand that the Holy Spirit, accommodating Himself to our incapacity, in speaking with us, employs words in use amongst us, such as these, 'Word' and 'Son,'—not that we can, through them, comprehend the divine secret, but in order that we may have some name for it. With reference to this divine generation, I understand that Christ is the first-born Son of God; by His eternity, that He ever has been Son, and that He is the only-begotten Son of God; by His individuality, that He alone is Son by generation, all others that are sons being so by regeneration. As regards this divine generation of Christ, I understand that there has not been in Him either decrease or increment: He was the same prior to His incarnation, that He was at His incarnation, and that He is in glory.

With reference to His human generation, I understand that Christ was, by the operation of the Holy Spirit, begotten in the womb of the most holy Virgin; but in what manner I do not know: it is sufficient for me to know that the flesh with which the Word of God clothed Himself in the world, was taken from that most holy Virgin, because, according to this flesh, I know Christ as the son of David and Abraham; and I see already partly fulfilled in Him the promises of God, made to David, as to the perpetuity

de Deo ejusque Filio nihil aliud scire, quam quod unus sit Deus altissimus Christi Pater: et unicus dominus noster Iesus Christus ejus filius, qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto in utero virginis: unus et amborum Spiritus.

nothing else of God and His Son than that there is one most high God, the Father of Christ, and our one only Lord, Jesus Christ His Son, who was conceived of the Holy Spirit in the Virgin's womb: who is one and the Spirit of each."

In this extract we see also the source or authority followed by Bayle, Bock, Sandius, and the Biographical Dictionaries, copying one from another, none of them having the books of Valdés, by which they might have corrected the opinion, had they wished it.

of the kingdom in his seed, and made to Abraham as to the multiplication of his seed and as to his inheritance of the world : and I expect to see them entirely fulfilled in the life eternal, when the resurrection of the just shall have been accomplished.

With reference to this human generation, I recognise in Christ two epochs, the one of shame and the other of glory.

In the period of abasement, I recognise Him as a man passible and mortal, with all the miseries which, being connected with passibility and mortality, are aggravated to the man who lives in poverty : and I recognise Him with a flesh similar to my own, excepting that His was not sinful flesh, nor flesh subject to sin, as mine. In this period I recognise Christ as very lowly and very meek, esteeming Himself to be what He was in that mode of being in which He was clad in flesh, as one disguised amongst men, in order that He might be treated as a man by men. I recognise Christ at this period as perfectly obedient to His eternal Father, perfectly free from all sin, and at the same time perfectly righteous and perfectly holy ; so that He could safely say to those who persecuted and calumniated Him, as reported in John viii. 46, '*Quis ex vobis arguet me de peccato ?*' 'Which of you convinceth me of sin ?' and St. Paul might well say, speaking of Him (2 Cor. v. 21), '*Eum qui non noverat peccatum,*' 'He who had known no sin ;' and St. Peter, in 1 Pet. ii. 22, '*Qui peccatum non fecit, neque est inventus dolus in ore ejus,*' 'Who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth.' And the Scriptures are everywhere replete with testimonies to this innocency of Christ, as a fact most necessary to be understood by all those who recognise themselves as righteous in Him, and through Him.

In the period of exaltation, I recognise Christ as man impassible and immortal, and I recognise Him as perfectly glorious and perfectly triumphant, as the person who has acquired absolute power in heaven and on earth, having for God's elect acquired the kingdom of God, and that they should be heirs of God: having slain them all in Himself, raised them all up in Himself, and glorified them all in Himself, so that their state comes to be identical with His. In this period, I recognise Christ as Lord, as Head, and as King of God's people, of God's Church, and of God's elect.

I recognise Christ as Lord of God's elect, because I understand that He has redeemed them with His precious blood, liberating them from sin, from hell, and from death, in which the first man (Adam) had placed them, and to which he held them obliged and subject; and because the Apostles, in their writings, exult in designating Christ as the Holy One.

I recognise Christ as Head of God's Church, because I understand, that God having placed His Holy Spirit in Him, with all the treasures of His Godhead, He communicates and distributes them most liberally to those who, being incorporated into Him, belong to God's Church, to every individual according to his capacity: acting on them as my head does upon my body, to such an extent, that just as my hand, if it could speak, would declare and affirm that it feels that a vital power descends to it from my head, by means of which it lives: so every individual of those who, incorporated into Christ, constitute the Church of God, because endowed with the faculty of speech, declares and affirms, that he experiences a spiritual power im-

parted to him by Christ by means of which he lives a spiritual life. St. John understood this when he declared (ch. i. 16), '*Et de plenitudine Ejus nos omnes accepimus, et gratiam pro gratiâ,*' 'And of His fulness have all we received, and grace for grace;' and St. Paul, in Col. i. 19, understood it so where he says '*Quoniam in illo complacitum est Patri*[*omnem plenitudinem*] *inhabitare,*' 'It pleased the Father that in Him all fulness should dwell.'

I recognise Christ as King of God's people, because I understand that it is He who rules and governs them by His Spirit, not only in things internal and divine, as Head, but likewise as God, and in things external and corporeal, as King : in all which things being, as they are, sons of God, '*aguntur Spiritû Dei,*' 'they are led by the Spirit of God;' as St. Paul says, in Rom. viii. 14. And thus I understand, that the kingdom of God is not called a spiritual kingdom, because it governs us in things spiritual, but because, governing us in things spiritual and corporeal, it does not govern us with an outward law, but with an inward law, which is the government of the Holy Spirit, the Christian spirit. The Holy Scriptures abound with the mention of this kingdom of Christ—Is. v. 1 *et seq.*; Mich. v. 4; Daniel vii. 9—from which passages I understand that God reigns in this present life but by Christ, and that in the life eternal God will reign but by Himself, for then He will be all in all' (1 Cor. xv. 28).

In this manner I recognise Christ glorious as King amongst God's people, as Head over God's Church, and as Lord over God's elect : and I recognise Christ as lowly, perfectly innocent, and free from all sin, and abounding in every form of righteousness : and I

recognise the promises made by God to Abraham and to David, as partially fulfilled in Him: and I recognise Him as the first-begotten and the only-begotten Son of God: and I recognise that He is the Word of God, by which God created all things: and I recognise Him as eternal and consubstantial. And I hold for certain, that just in proportion as the Christian faith shall become more effectual in me, both in modifying and in quickening me, will these recognitions of Christ go on to become clearer and more distinct, by which I shall advance, day by day, in an ever-increasing knowledge of God, to as much as may be known in this life: in the meanwhile, this flesh, being passible and mortal, is not a material able to support the vision of Christ and of God face to face (1 Cor. xiii. 12), as I shall see Him in the life eternal.

Having thus determined the conception I ought to hold as to Christ, I proceed to determine the conception I ought to hold of those who are members of Christ, considering each one of them severally as a son of God, not a first-begotten one like Christ, who ever has been Son, but as an adopted Son, through Christ and in Christ; not an only-begotten Son as Christ, who is Son by generation, but regenerated through Christ and in Christ, born a son of wrath, but by the new birth a Son of God: not in a state of glorification, such as that in which Christ is, but in a state of abasement, such as that in which Christ was: not Lord over God's elect, but one of their number, who, being elected of God, are servants of Christ, redeemed and bought by Christ: not the head of God's Church, as Christ, but as a member of the Church of God, of which Christ is the Head: not King of God's people, as Christ, but

governed by the Spirit of Christ, by the aid of whose Spirit I know that all the members of Christ are united amongst themselves, and united with Christ Himself, and in the meanwhile united likewise with God, they being in God and God being in them. And thus I see that prayer fulfilled which Christ made to the Father for this union (John xvii. 11), saying, '*Ut et ipsi in nobis unum sint,*' &c., 'And that they may be one in us,' &c.; and I understand how all Christian perfection consists in this union.

I pray God that He may impress it in such a manner upon my memory, that it may not seem to leave it or to depart from it for one moment, in order that I may never do anything that may be unworthy of this union, which I recognise as instituted by my Christ, who is my *Lord*, my *Head*, and my *King*; to whom be glory, with the Father and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

CONSIDERATION CX.

That spiritual gifts are not understood, until they are possessed.

THE highest testimony to Christian life is this : that in proportion as the Christian advances towards perfection in Christian practice, so does he advance in distinctness of Christian views. Nay, I hold it to be certain, that the same Christian spirit which leads him to progress towards perfection in practice, leads him to distinctness of views, to such an extent that it is scarcely possible to understand whether the distinctness of views be assignable to the perfection of practice, or whether the perfection of practice be assignable to the distinctness of views : and therefore it is safe to say that both one and the other are due to the Christian spirit, which marvellously operates, both the one and the other, in those persons who accept the Gospel of Christ. I have stated this for the following reason,—that having regarded the matter of Christianity not as science, but as experience, I have endeavoured to make this truth intelligible to individuals by numerous illustrations. I never satisfied my own mind so that it could appear to me, that I had expressed my views in my own way, until now, when to my own judgment, having apprehended it more distinctly, it

seems to me that I am better enabled to express it : and thus I say, that I find the difference between belief and acceptance of the Christian graces, faith, hope, and charity, with the human understanding, or with the Christian spirit, to be the same that I find between acceptance and approval of those three natural virtues, magnanimity, courage, and liberality, and the actual possession of them. I mean to say, that just as there are men who, hearing these three natural virtues, and their perfection, spoken of, although they do not recognise them in themselves, approve and receive them as good ; so there are likewise men who, hearing those three gifts of God, faith, hope, and charity, and of their perfection and efficacy, spoken of, although they do not recognise them in themselves, approve and receive them as good, believing that they who accept the grace of the Gospel enjoy remission of sins and reconciliation with God, through Christ, and approving the hope with which they may expect the felicity of eternal life, and the love with which they love God above everything, and love their neighbour as themselves. I say, moreover, that just as they who approve of these three natural virtues, whilst they do not possess them, although they may be pleased to hear them spoken of through the desire they have to possess them, nevertheless it is not such as to give them full satisfaction. Nay, when they look into themselves and find themselves without them, they grieve and are discontented, and so much the more, as they appear to them the more perfect, because so much the more they lose the hope of being able to attain them :—precisely so they who approve the three gifts of God, but do not possess them,

though they may be pleased to hear them spoken of, through the desire they have to possess them, nevertheless it is not such as to give them full satisfaction. Nay, when they look into themselves and find themselves without them, they grieve and are discontented, and so much the more, as the gifts appear to them more perfect, because so much the more they lose the hope of being able to attain them. But proceeding further, I say, that just as whenever it should come to pass that the men who approve the three natural virtues, but do not possess them, should come to possess them, and to recognise themselves magnanimous, brave, and liberal, they would declare that they had never rightly understood the merits of these three virtues previously; and they would far otherwise enjoy to hear them spoken of, recognising them in themselves, and though it might grieve them to find themselves imperfect in them, it would not grieve them that they should be as perfect as they are:—so likewise, when it comes to pass that the men who approve the three gifts of God, but do not possess them, come to possess them, because God gives them to them, recognising in themselves faith, hope, and charity, they declare that they never had previously rightly understood what these three gifts of God were, and most fully do they rejoice, and feel satisfaction in hearing them discussed, and so much the more, as they that speak, speak the more highly of them, because they recognise them in themselves: and though they may grieve and be saddened, when, looking into themselves, they recognise themselves as imperfect, it does not grieve them that the gifts should be so perfect as they are; on the contrary, they take pleasure in the fact, and were

it possible, they would willingly enhance their perfection to a much higher degree; so great is the satisfaction they experience in the exercise of faith, hope, and love. And this is the mode in which I understand, that just as the individual is incapable of being either magnanimous, or brave, or liberal, until he has magnanimity, courage, and liberality; so he is incapable of believing, hoping, and loving, until by the Christian spirit he has the gift of faith, hope, and charity. And thus the truth, that spiritual and Christian gifts are not understood until they are possessed, becomes so palpable that a man may almost put his finger upon it.

I understand this discourse to involve the following things.

In the first place, it being certain that none are capable of understanding the gifts of God save those who possess them, it is the duty of every one who shall desire to understand them, previously to ask God for them, and not to think that he understands them, until he recognises and feels them within him, as the magnanimous man inwardly recognises and feels his magnanimity.

Secondly, that persons are enabled to say that they recognise and feel the gifts of God within them, if they feel perfect satisfaction when they hear Christian topics discussed; and though they may grieve and be sad when they look into themselves as being imperfect in these gifts, they rejoice and are inwardly content to be as perfect as they are, considering that the more perfect they are, the more does the glory of the Gospel of Christ and of God come to be illustrated, and the more does the baseness and vileness, the infirmity and weakness of Man come to be known.

Thirdly, that just as for a man to be magnanimous involves magnanimity, and to be brave involves courage, and to be liberal involves liberality :—so for a man to accept the grace of the Gospel involves faith, and he is righteous ; and to long for the day of judgment involves hope, and he is holy ; and to love God and one's neighbour involves charity, and he is pious.

Fourthly, that just as the magnanimous man does not lose his magnanimity by two or three lapses into pusillanimity, unless that he so far forget himself that, unmindful of sustaining magnanimity, he become pusillanimous,—and that which I affirm of the magnanimous, I affirm of the brave and of the liberal,—so he that is justified through Christian faith does not lose Christian justification through the commission of two or three transgressions, unless he so far forget himself, with reference to faith, that, unmindful of his having been justified by faith, he become unjust ; and that which I affirm of the justified one, I affirm of the holy man as to hope, and I affirm of the pious man as to charity.

Whereupon, should any one ask me whether I believe that he who, through the gift of God, possesses faith, hope, and charity, may come to lose righteousness, holiness, and piety, which he has acquired through faith, hope, and charity ? I shall reply, that if it be possible for him to lose faith, hope, and charity, it will also be possible for him to lose righteousness, holiness, and piety, the latter being the effects of the former. And I shall say, that I hold it to be more difficult for the man who, by gift from God, possesses faith, hope, and charity, to make himself so depraved as to lose them, and that he should, with them, lose righteousness, holiness, and piety ; than for the other, who, through a natural gift, is magnanimous, brave,

and liberal, should come to make himself so pusillanimous, so timid, and so penurious, as to lose magnanimity, courage, and liberality. And moreover I say, that as it is a security for the man that is magnanimous, brave, and liberal, to live watchful and distrustful of himself, lest, becoming self-forgetful, he should come to lose magnanimity, courage, and liberality; so likewise it is a security for the righteous, holy, and pious man, to live watchful and distrustful of himself, lest, becoming self-forgetful, he should come to lose faith, hope, and charity, and with them righteousness, holiness, and wisdom. It is indeed true that I should hold the man much more secure, who shall be assured by the inward spirit that he could not in any way come to lose his righteousness, his holiness, or his piety, than another, who should always live carefully and self-suspecting; because I understand that the sense of security, which is in its origin divine, mortifies and slays sinful lusts, just as that which is in its origin human, quickens and incites them. And because I understand, too, that to distrust is, as it were, almost to fear, which, even when proceeding from the Holy Spirit, being peculiar to the Jews, is a characteristic of imperfect Christians: it being characteristic of perfect Christians, of those largely endowed with faith, hope, and charity, to say with St. Paul, in Rom. viii. 35, '*Quis nos separabit a charitate Christi?*' 'Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?'

Here I will add, that just as liberality is so intimately connected with magnanimity, that he cannot be magnanimous who is not liberal; so hope and charity are so intimately connected with faith, that he cannot have faith who has not hope and charity: it being likewise impossible that a man can be righteous,

without being pious and holy. But they are incapable of understanding these Christian truths who are inexperienced in Christian subjects; and this experience they alone possess who, through the gift of God, and through the benefit of Christ, possess faith, hope, and charity, and hence are pious, holy, and justified in Christ, and are intent upon apprehending the piety, righteousness, and holiness in which they are apprehended (Phil. iii.), being like to God, and to the Son of God, Jesus Christ. Amen.

END OF THE HUNDRED AND TEN
CONSIDERATIONS.





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